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THIS year is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Canadian Press and the thirty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the earlier Western Associated Press, from which the present national news-gathering organization has sprung.

In the early days of news-gathering in Canada, the newspapers were dependent upon the services of the Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company and the Great North Western Telegraph Company. The one was a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the latter an affiliate of the Grand Trunk Railway, later absorbed into the Canadian National Railways system. The C.P.R. owned for Canada the franchise of the Associated Press, the great American news co-operative. Its news was laid down in Buffalo and there was edited and telegraphed to the Canadian newspapers at a low cost. The G.N.W., on its part, provided a domestic service which was compiled by its local agents and sold to Canadian newspapers for about the cost of the telegraph tolls. Larger newspapers supplemented these services through their correspondents in the local field and by buying special services from Chicago and New York. Small town dailies in Ontario were supplied with a "boiler plate" service sent by express from Toronto and supplemented by a very uncertain and spasmodic telegraph service.

All in all, it was a most unsatisfactory news service. If anyone thinks otherwise let him turn to the newspapers of Canada in the early part of this century and compare them with the newspapers of today. The principle was likewise unsound and wrong in that the news of the country and the world was being supplied through private commercial corporations. The only defence of the system is that the newspapers of those days had slender resources, and but for this limited and unsatisfactory service at a cheap rate there would have been none at all. This was particularly true in

¹The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is pleased to have this account of an important development in Canadian journalism from Mr. Arthur Ford, Editor-in-chief of the London *Free Press*, whose long experience enables him to write with an intimate knowledge of this subject. Mr. Ford was elected President of the Canadian Press in April, 1942. [EDITOR'S NOTE].

Western Canada where the distances were great and the infant dailies could not have bought a news service of any kind for their isolated communities.

The first break in these arrangements came in 1907, when the C.P.R. notified the large Winnipeg dailies that the cost of the Associated Press service then being supplied to them would have to be doubled. There was doubtless some justification for the increase, but the Winnipeg publishers decided that this was the time to put an end to a system of news-gathering which they regarded as intolerable. E. H. Macklin and Dr. John W. Dafoe of the Winnipeg *Free Press*, M. E. Nichols of *The Telegram*, now of the Vancouver *Province*, and the late R. L. Richardson of *The Tribune*, after frequent conferences decided to defy the C.P.R. and accordingly founded the Western Associated Press. Mr. Nichols was the first president and Mr. Macklin was the first treasurer.

It was on September 23, 1907, that the Western Associated Press was started in a tiny Winnipeg office with J. F. B. Livesay, a former editor of the *Regina Post* and previously on *The Telegram*, as manager. Most of the newspapers in the Prairie Provinces decided to join hands with the Winnipeg publishers. They were deprived of the Associated Press despatches but through Minneapolis secured such news services as were then available. For several years they carried on an uphill fight. For the principle of controlling their own news these newspapers paid more for inferior service, even when in competition with rival newspapers still receiving the Associated Press news through the C.P.R.

The W.A.P. had its first accession of strength in 1908 when the Pacific Coast newspapers decided to join it. Until this time the British Columbia papers had secured their service from Seattle or Spokane, a service essentially designed for American readers. The service from the rest of Canada was naturally limited in scope and poor in quality. British Columbia was thus truly isolated. With the establishment of a W.A.P. wire through to the Coast the people of British Columbia first secured an adequate news coverage from the rest of Canada. In this same period a similar development was taking place in the Maritime Provinces, largely due to the energy of the late Fred Pearson, publisher of the *Halifax Chronicle*, and Charles F. Crandall, publisher of the *Saint John Sun* and later president of the British United Press. In 1910 under the leadership of these two men a co-operative news-gathering organization was formed, modelled on the Western Associated Press and known as the Eastern Press Association. Mr. Pearson was president and Mr. Crandall secretary.

There was still one other co-operative news-gathering effort which went back to 1903. The Toronto *Telegram* under the guidance of the late J. Ross Robertson and the Toronto *Star* published by J. E. Atkinson felt that there was need for a better British service than was obtainable from American sources. In that year there was set up what was called the Canadian Associated Press. It was supported by these two newspapers and by other Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa publishers. A resident correspondent was located in London, and a subsidy of \$8000 a year was secured from the federal government. The service was small compared with the London service of today, but nevertheless was an important step forward.

In 1910, to keep the story straight, the Western Associated Press felt that it was being discriminated against by the C.P.R. on the question of telegraph rates. An appeal was accordingly made to the Railway Commission against what was regarded as the exorbitant rates charged by the company, as compared with the low rate for the company's service to rival newspapers routed over the same wires. The publishers of Ontario and Quebec supported the charges of the Western newspapers and the Railway Commission late in 1910 gave a decision in favour of equal rates for all press matter. Thus ended this long fight.

Edward W. Beatty, now Sir Edward, at that time legal counsel for the C.P.R. and who had represented the railway before the Commission, met the publishers in Ottawa immediately after the decision, and stated that he felt a public service corporation had no business to be in the news field. He offered to surrender the valuable Associated Press rights to the Canadian daily papers. A committee was immediately appointed to take steps toward the formation of a national news-gathering co-operative organization. The Associated Press, which is also a co-operative news agency, was at once approached. The late Melville Stone, its manager, welcomed the formation of a Canadian organization. The Associated Press had always worked on the principle of an exchange of news with the news associations of other countries and lack of such a body in Canada had been a handicap to its coverage of the Dominion. The Canadian publishers thereupon decided to provide a responsible organization to take over the A.P. rights for Canada and to guarantee a return service of Canadian news. The establishment of the Canadian Press Limited in 1911 resulted. It was the ambition of its founders to make it a truly national and Dominion-wide organization, but insuperable obstacles intervened, the chief being the cost of leased wire facilities across Canada. So until 1917 Canadian Press Limited was only a holding company for the

Canadian rights of the Associated Press, every Canadian newspaper being offered membership on the same basis. The Western Associated Press continued to serve the Western field and the Eastern Press Association the Maritime Provinces. As there had been up to 1911 no similar bodies in Ontario and Quebec, separate organizations were set up for the morning and evening papers of these two provinces. The four organizations were united only by common membership in the Canadian Press. They exchanged a certain amount of Canadian news, but the system was costly and unsatisfactory.

The Great War brought this situation to a head. Sir Robert Borden was anxious in the interests of national unity to see a greater interchange of Canadian news and to have the achievements of the Canadian forces overseas given wider publicity. To this end he approached the publishers. They pointed out that the geography of Canada made it economically impossible for them to set up a leased wire across the Dominion. There were three conspicuous gaps, without large cities or newspapers, which it was beyond their resources at that time to span. These were between Montreal and Saint John, between Ottawa and Winnipeg, and between Vancouver and Calgary. Sir Robert decided in the national interest to make an annual grant of \$50,000 to bridge these gaps. This was in 1917 and the publishers lost no time in amalgamating the four entities into one national news service called the Canadian Press in which the Canadian Associated Press was also merged.

The new national news service was inaugurated on September 1, 1917. The late E. H. Slack, managing editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, was the first president and Charles Knowles, now managing editor of the *Toronto Telegram*, was the first general manager. He was succeeded a little later by Mr. Livesay, who had been manager of the Western Associated Press from its beginning. Mr. Livesay was manager until his retirement a few years ago and much of the credit for the success of the Canadian Press must go to his untiring efforts, his executive acumen, and his sense of news. Mr. Livesay was succeeded by John A. McNeil, managing editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, an experienced newspaperman and for many years a Canadian Press director.

As time passed there was a growing feeling among the publishers that it was wrong for a news agency to be subsidized by a government. There was always present the danger that politicians might feel that they had the right to make use or dictate the character of the service. There was also the danger of suspicion on the part of the public that the service was controlled by the government.

Therefore, when in 1924 the grant was cancelled the publishers welcomed the move and decided that they had grown strong enough to absorb this amount while retaining the national leased wire service. The annual meeting of 1925 went on record that never again would the Canadian Press accept a grant or a subsidy from any source.

Today the Canadian Press covers the Dominion with its service and also supplies news to Newfoundland and the West Indies. Through its alliance with the Associated Press there is a world interchange of news. The head office and main bureau is in Toronto, and there are bureaux in Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver. There is also an office in New York where Canadian newspapermen edit and supplement the A.P. service for Canadian consumption. In the London bureau there is today a staff of eight Canadian newspapermen covering British news, general war news, and the activities of the Canadian army. A resident staff correspondent is also maintained at Washington.

For nine years the Canadian Press has given its services free to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation so that the people of Canada may have up-to-the-minute news on the air. Until the C.B.C. established its own news room two years ago, the Canadian Press actually paid the cost of compiling its news to go on the air. A year ago, the policy under which the Canadian Press refused to sell its news was discarded and the co-operative established a radio affiliate, Press News Limited. Now Press News processes Canadian Press news for twenty-eight private radio stations from coast to coast.

The Canadian Press, which is accepted by government and public alike as the single organization gathering promptly the returns of elections—and, for instance, of the recent plebiscite—has countless other news functions. It provides to the railways the train news bulletins which are read by passengers twice daily. It prepares specially for weekly newspapers a mailed service of news including a war review and an Ottawa letter; and can provide telegraphed press-day bulletins.

The most recent step was taken when the Canadian Press agreed to provide its news service to the government without charge for the Canadian forces overseas. The government accepted the offer and commissioned the Canadian Press also to select and edit the news for a weekly tabloid printed in London and called "The Canadian Press News." The government pays the cost of editing, cable tolls, and printing.

One of the most important changes that the Canadian Press brought about for the Canadian newspapers and the Canadian public was the coverage of Ottawa news. Before the Canadian Press was established the newspapers kept their own men in Ottawa. Obviously it was impossible for the smaller papers to maintain correspondents in the capital, and even the larger papers could only afford telegraph tolls to cover properly their own party leaders. Those were the days of extreme partisanship, and too often a Liberal paper would report only Liberal speakers and the Conservative newspapers only Conservatives.

I was in the Press Gallery before the days of the Canadian Press, and recall an incident in 1913 which illustrates this point. The Naval Aid Bill debate was then at its height. I represented amongst other papers the Fredericton *Gleaner*, then owned and edited by the late James Crockett, an ardent Conservative and a great friend of Sir Douglas Hazen, a cabinet minister from New Brunswick. Sir Robert Borden had put forward his proposals and the whole country was watching the stand taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. A day came when Sir Wilfrid made an important speech in the debate, but preceding him Sir Douglas had also spoken, though with no particular bearing on the subject. I wired the *Gleaner* to this effect: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier has spoken on the naval question. How much do you want?" Then as an afterthought I added: "Hazen spoke this afternoon. Do you want anything of his speech?" Back came the wire: "Ignore Laurier entirely. Send Hazen verbatim."

In those days government news was treated like patronage for the government papers. It was only through the kindness of friendly correspondents or through underground sources that opposition papers could obtain any government news. The coming of the Canadian Press, together with the necessity of securing in war time the support of all papers, no matter what their politics, changed all this. The Canadian Press set up in Ottawa a non-partisan bureau which covered impartially the proceedings of the House and Senate and general Ottawa news. The country for the first time got a fair picture of what was going on at Ottawa. My own opinion is that the credit for the development of independent political thinking in Canada and the breaking down of party lines—for better or for worse—must largely go to the Canadian Press.

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London.

NOVA SCOTIA AND THE CANADIAN NAVAL TRADITION

FOR some years I have been contending that an adequate history of the Dominion of Canada prior to Confederation should comprise the history not of Central Canada alone but of all its constituent parts, including both the prairies and the maritime provinces on both oceans. It is difficult to integrate such a history because of the different origins and traditions of different sections, especially of the eastern and western provinces; but, as there have been many parallel movements in the evolution of the original partners of Confederation, it should not be impossible to make a reasonably connected story of their history between 1763 and 1867 at least. The main problem has been one of design rather than of execution: to get historians to discriminate between the merely local history of the constituent parts and the contributions of the respective local histories to the general history of the Dominion. Thus, while Upper and Lower Canada gave the largest number of inhabitants, the richest material resources, and the name to the new Dominion, the Maritime Provinces brought all their resources both material and spiritual into the union and pooled them for the enrichment of all. Among these resources not the least were a tradition of neighbourliness with New England, a record of close co-operation in military and naval affairs with Great Britain, a love and understanding of the sea, and a wistful gaze beyond the far horizons of the Atlantic. All these resources or characteristics are now the heritage of the Canadian people, as much as the history of the fur trade, the Quebec Act, the War of 1812, or the B. N. A. Act.

It is fitting, therefore, now that Canada is developing a navy and seeking to build up a naval tradition of its own, that the contribution of the various provinces of Canada to the Royal Navy prior to Confederation should be recalled as a background for the picture of contemporary achievement and as a source of inspiration to us all. It is natural that the people of the Maritime Provinces and Nova Scotians in particular should have had the greatest share in building this tradition in the past: for, in early days, much of their livelihood was obtained from the sea, their sole means of communication with their neighbours and the outside world was by sea, and their closest connections were with the British Isles, the West Indies, and the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. Halifax was founded as an imperial outpost by

disbanded soldiers and sailors, and for more than a century after its founding the Royal Navy used this harbour as a summer station, and until the beginning of the present century maintained and used the dockyard and other naval property there. Thus for more than a century before Confederation the British navy was ever before the eyes of Nova Scotians and attracted not a few to its service, seven of whom rose to the rank of admiral, two to the rank of captain, and one to the rank of lieutenant. Moreover, three of these admirals and one captain were knighted for their services, one of the admirals was an author of sorts, one of the captains was governor-general of the Gold Coast in Africa where a monument was erected to his memory, while the lieutenant made several useful inventions for the improvement of nautical science.

This aspect of Nova Scotia's contribution to the new Dominion which was created in 1867, though dreamed of long before, was eloquently expressed by Thomas D'Arcy McGee in a speech at Cookshire, Lower Canada, on December 22, 1864. On that occasion, he said, "I rejoice, moreover, that we men of insular origin are about to recover one of our lost senses—the sense that comprehends the sea—that we are not now about to subside into a character so foreign to all our antecedents, that of a mere inland people. The union of the provinces restores us to the ocean, takes us back to the Atlantic, and launches us once more on the modern Mediterranean, the true central sea of the western world."

McGee, then, recognized in 1864 that the Maritime Provinces, especially Nova Scotia, would revive in the people of Canada proper a sense which they were in danger of losing, but which they and their ancestors had possessed in varying degrees when they crossed the ocean at widely separated intervals during the two preceding centuries: for Nova Scotians had never lost this sense but on the contrary had maintained and developed it fully in friendly emulation of New England and of Great Britain itself. In 1867 Howe boasted that "A few years since there were eleven 'captain' cards upon the Noel shore. Some time ago I went into a house in the township of Yarmouth. There was a frame hanging over the mantelpiece with seven photographs on it. 'Who are these?' I asked, and the matron replied, smiling, 'These are my seven sailor boys.' 'But these are not boys, they are stout powerful men, Mrs. Hatfield.' 'Yes,' said the mother, with the faintest possible exhibition of maternal pride, 'they all command fine ships, and have all been round Cape Horn'." It is true that in this

instance Howe was referring to the mercantile marine and perhaps McGee also was thinking of the ocean as a highway of peaceful commerce; but both these statesmen knew that the freedom of the seas had to be maintained by ships of war, and Howe in particular was not unaware of the eagerness with which Nova Scotians had sought a career in such ships, and he could have given in detail the records of those who in his day had risen to positions of responsibility and distinction in the Royal Navy.

But a new generation has arisen that knew not Joseph. There is danger today that Canadians may forget even the names of the men who preserved for us that sense which comprehends the sea, and may date our naval tradition from 1910, when the *Rainbow* and *Niobe* arrived on our shores as the nucleus of a Canadian navy,—forgetting even the earlier travesty of our naval ambition, when the decrepit *Charybdis* was presented by the British Admiralty to the Canadian government as a training ship, and arrived on the Atlantic coast only to become the butt of even more biting sarcasm than the tinpot navy thirty years later.

It is the purpose of this paper to revive the memory of these men who rose to distinction in the Royal Navy, and to suggest that Canada may enrich her naval tradition greatly and do no more than justice to Nova Scotia by weaving the lives of these naval officers into the historical background of the Canadian Navy, —the more so because the personnel of the Canadian Navy have been so closely associated with the Royal Navy and have adopted the standards of training and conduct of that distinguished service. When she does so she will be justified in regarding as her first admiral not the admiral who became Director of Naval Services in 1910 but the first Nova Scotian who rose to that rank in the Royal Navy one hundred and twenty years before that date.

A century ago it was the custom of Howe, G. R. Young, and others to commend the achievements of Nova Scotians abroad in order to encourage still greater achievements and to convince the British government that they were not inferior to their kinsmen who dwelt upon the ancient homesteads nor less entitled to all the rights and privileges of the British constitution. In a letter to Lord John Russell, the Colonial Secretary of that day, Howe wrote: "The proudest naval trophy of the last American war was brought by a Nova Scotian into the harbour of his native town; and the blood that flowed from Nelson's death wound in the cockpit of the *Victory* mingled with that of a Nova Scotian stripling beside him, struck down in the same glorious fight."

By this eloquent tribute to Provo Wallis and Augustus Westphal, Howe has stamped indelibly on our memories two Nova Scotian youths, who had sought a career in the Royal Navy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and were gradually rising to the rank of admiral when he wrote; but because he did not mention any others we are apt to think that these were the only ones who rose to distinction in the imperial service. As a matter of fact, one Nova Scotian had risen to the rank of rear-admiral a year before Wallis was born, another had got his flag a year before Westphal was wounded at Trafalgar, and three others, contemporaries of Wallis and Westphal, were climbing the same ladder but a few rungs behind them.

As Howe was not writing a history of Nova Scotians in the Royal Navy, he should not be blamed for these omissions or for that lack of curiosity on our part which has left these other names in oblivion. His sole concern at the moment was to show that in every branch of imperial endeavour Nova Scotians were to be found playing an honourable and competent part. None the less his eloquent tribute affords an excellent introduction to the brief sketches which are to follow, though the careers of two other Nova Scotian admirals must be discussed before those of Wallis and Westphal in order to preserve historical sequence.

The first Nova Scotian admiral in the British navy was Philipps Cosby, son of Colonel Alex. Cosby, sometime lieutenant-governor of the fort and garrison of Annapolis Royal, and of Anne Winniett, daughter of William Winniett who had come to Nova Scotia in 1710 and married an Acadienne. He was born in 1727 or 1728 and named after Colonel Richard Philipps, who was governor of Nova Scotia from 1717 to 1749.

He entered the navy in 1745 and in the following year saw service in the East Indies at the siege of Pondicherry. For the next few years he served in various ships in North American waters, first under Keppel and then under Boscawen. As lieutenant of the *Orford*, he was with Boscawen's fleet at Louisbourg in 1758, and was Wolfe's aide-de-camp at Quebec in 1759. In 1760 he was promoted to the rank of commander and, during the next six years, commanded various sloops and frigates in home waters. From 1766 to 1770, he commanded the frigate *Montreal* in the Mediterranean, under Commodore Spry. In 1771 he was appointed Receiver-General of St. Kitt's and remained in civilian life until 1778, when he was appointed to the command, first of the *Centaur*, then of the *Robust*. In the *Robust* he accompanied

Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot to North America in 1779, and in the battle off the Chesapeake, in March, 1781, he led the line and his ship was badly shattered in the fray. In 1786 Cosby was appointed commodore and commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and held that command for three years. In 1790 he was promoted to rear-admiral. In 1792 he acted as port admiral at Plymouth. In the following year he was third in command of the fleet under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, but returned to England with a convoy in 1794, after which he had no further service afloat, though he commanded the impress service in Ireland until 1801. He rose to the rank of vice-admiral in 1794 and of admiral in 1799. He died at Bath on January 10, 1808, at the age of eighty.

All Nova Scotians and the Acadians in particular have reason to be proud of their first admiral: for in his veins flowed the blood of both races and, through his mother, he inherited the seafaring instincts of Pierre Maissonat, alias Baptiste, the famous Acadian privateer captain of Port Royal.

William Wolseley, the second Nova Scotian admiral, owes less to the province than any of the other six mentioned in this paper, because his parents moved to Ireland when he was eight years of age and he entered the navy from a school in Kilkenny. None the less, Nova Scotia gave him birth and, though his father was not a permanent resident of Nova Scotia, his mother was a Nova Scotian of several generations.

William Wolseley was the son of Captain William Neville Wolseley of the 47th Regiment and Anne Cosby, sister of Admiral Cosby, grand-daughter of William Winniett, and great granddaughter of Baptiste, the great privateer captain of Acadia. He was born at Annapolis Royal on March 15, 1756, and entered the navy in 1769, on a cutter at Waterford. Two years later he attended a nautical school at Westminster from which he joined a ship for service in the West Indies. From 1773 to 1777 he served under Commodore Hughes in the East Indies. In 1778 he was on service in home waters as a junior lieutenant but in the autumn of that year he returned to the East Indies and did not see England again until 1783. He commanded a company of naval brigade at the reduction of Negapatam, October, 1781, and the storming of Fort Ostenberg, Trincomalee, June, 1782. In the latter action he was severely wounded in the chest and left for dead in a ditch, but was later rescued and carried to his ship. After his recovery, he was given command, first of a fireship, then of a frigate, but was captured by Suffrein, the great French admiral,

and kept a prisoner in the Mauritius and Bourbon islands until the peace of 1783. Between 1786 and 1789 he commanded a ship in the Mediterranean under his uncle, Admiral Cosby. During the wars of the French Revolution he commanded various ships in the Mediterranean; but, after the Peace of Amiens, he was given command of the Sea Fencibles of the Shannon district in Ireland and was not again afloat. He became rear-admiral in 1804, vice-admiral in 1809, and admiral in 1819. He died in London as Senior Admiral of the Red on June 7, 1842.

Sir Provo William Parry Wallis, who was born in Halifax April 12, 1791, and died in England February 13, 1892, is the best known of all the admirals who were born in Nova Scotia, partly because he brought the *Chesapeake* into the harbour of his native town but also because he rose to the highest rank in the Royal Navy and lived the longest to enjoy his honours. As the son of Provo Featherstone Wallis, chief clerk to the naval commissioner in Halifax, he was predestined to a naval career, and his name was entered on the books of a ship in Halifax harbour as an able-bodied seaman in 1795, when he was only four years of age, though he did not actually enter the navy until nine years later, when he joined the *Cleopatra*, a thirty-two-gun frigate which was destined to see action almost immediately. On her way to the West Indies, in February, 1805, the *Cleopatra* was captured after a sharp struggle by the forty-gun French frigate *La Ville de Milan*, which in turn, together with her prize, surrendered, a week later, to the fifty-gun ship *Leander*. It should be noted in passing that Herbert Clifford, another Halifax youth who rose to distinction in the navy, was on board the *Leander* during this action. Wallis served on the frigate *Milan* until November, 1806, when he was appointed acting-lieutenant of the *Triumph*. In 1808 he became lieutenant of the brig *Curieux*, which was wrecked off Guadeloupe a year later. For the next two years he served on the *Gloire*; and, in January, 1812, was appointed second lieutenant of the *Shannon*, in which he was to make his mark.

In the engagement with the *Chesapeake*, on June 1, 1813, Wallis distinguished himself by his bravery and, owing to the death of First Lieutenant Falkiner and the wounds of Captain Broke, he was left in command and ultimately brought the two ships into Halifax to the great delight of his fellow townsmen. This was no mean feat, as the crew of the *Chesapeake* was considerably more numerous than the crew of the *Shannon*; but fortunately he was able to use the handcuffs ironically provided by the Americans

themselves. Of this incident, he himself says, "After finding that my captain was *hors de combat* and the first lieutenant killed, my first care was to get the prisoners secured, which was an easy matter, as the *Chesapeake* had upon deck some hundreds of hand-cuffs in readiness for us. So we ornamented them with their own manacles."

Shortly after this engagement Wallis was promoted to commander and took the *Shannon* home to England. Six years later he was advanced to captain. From 1824 to 1826 he commanded a ship on the Halifax station; from 1838 to 1839 he was on the West Indies station and off Vera Cruz. From 1843 to 1846 he commanded the *Waspire* in the Mediterranean. In 1851 he became rear-admiral. In 1857 he was commander-in-chief of the fleet on the south-east coast of South America and promoted to vice-admiral. This was his last service afloat. In 1863 he became admiral. From 1869 to 1870 he was rear-admiral of the United Kingdom, from 1870 to 1876 vice-admiral of the United Kingdom, and in December, 1877, he was made Admiral of the Fleet. In May, 1870, the title of K.C.B. was conferred upon him and three years later that of G.C.B. On his hundredth birthday he received congratulatory messages from many sources but was especially pleased with those from the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Mayor and Corporation of Halifax, and the captain and officers of the *Shannon*, then lying at Portsmouth. On February 13, 1892, he died at Funtington, and was buried with "a full display of the honours which the British Navy bestows upon those who have gained a place of distinction in the service."

Like Annapolis Royal, Preston has the honour of giving two admirals to the British navy, Philip and Sir George Augustus Westphal, both sons of George Westphal, a retired Hanoverian officer and one of the first grantees of this township. As Sir George was the "stripling" referred to by Howe and became an admiral before his older brother Philip, I shall deal with him first.

George Augustus Westphal was born July 26, 1785, and entered the navy in 1798. During the next five years he served on the North American station, the home station, and in the West Indies. In March, 1803, he joined the *Amphion* which carried Nelson to the Mediterranean. Off Toulon he was transferred to the *Victory* and remained in her until the battle of Trafalgar, when he was wounded. "While lying in the cockpit Nelson's coat, hastily rolled up, was put under his head for a pillow. Some of the bullions of one of the epaulettes got entangled with his hair and

were cemented to it with dried blood, so that the coat and Westphal could only be separated by cutting off some four or five of the bullions which Westphal long treasured as memorials of the hero."

After Trafalgar he served in the flagships of both Collingwood and St. Vincent; and, in August, 1806, he was made lieutenant of the *Demarara* sloop in the West Indies. Invalided to England in 1807, his ship was taken to Guadeloupe by a French privateer. Though wounded, he afterwards escaped and was picked up at sea by an American schooner, from which he got on board an English ship, and ultimately reached England. He served on various ships in the West Indies and in the English Channel, at the reduction of Martinique and on the Scheldt, until 1810 when he joined Cockburn in the *Indefatigable* on an expedition to Quiberon Bay, where he commanded the boats which landed the agents of the King of Spain. He remained with Cockburn for three years, taking part in the defence of Cadiz and also in the blockade of the United States during the War of 1812. For his conduct in Chesapeake Bay he was promoted to command of the sloop *Anaconda* which he himself had taken as a prize and in which he served against New Orleans.

In 1819 he was advanced to the rank of captain and three years later he was appointed to the *Jupiter* in which he carried Lord Amherst to India. In April, 1824, he was knighted, in the words of Sir Robert Peel, "more in consideration of his gallant and distinguished services against the enemy than for his having taken out the Governor-General of India." In 1832 he was appointed flag captain to Sir George Cockburn in the *Vernon* on the North American station. Two years later he was invalided home and saw no further service. "He had been three times wounded," including the loss of his right hand at New Orleans, "eight times gazetted for signal service before the enemy and had been more than one hundred times in action." He was advanced to rear-admiral in 1851, vice-admiral in 1857, and admiral in 1863. He died at Hove, Brighton, January 11, 1875.

Philip Westphal, born in 1782, entered the navy on the North American station in 1794. In 1796 he served in the *Shannon* on the home station and from 1797 to 1800 in the *Asia* again on the coasts of North America. In 1801 he joined the frigate *Blanche* which was part of Nelson's fleet at Copenhagen. For his services in that action he was promoted to lieutenant and joined first the *Defiance*, then the *Amazon*. In that ship he was with Nelson's fleet off Toulon and on the cruise to the West Indies in 1805. In

1806 he was with Warren in the West Indies when the French frigate *Belle Poule* struck to the *Amazon*; and, as the first lieutenant of the *Amazon* had been killed in the action, Westphal took the *Belle Poule* to England. He returned to the *Amazon* and served in her until 1812. During the War of 1812 he served in North American waters, and in January, 1815, was moved to Sir George Cockburn's flagship. Later in that year he was promoted to commander. Between 1828 and 1830 he commanded the *Warspite* and *Kent* and, in the latter year, was advanced to captain. In 1847 he retired on the Greenwich Hospital pension, rising on the retired list to rear-admiral in 1855, vice-admiral in 1862 and admiral in 1866. He died at Ryde, March 16, 1880.

George Edward Watts, the son of a retired sergeant who had settled in the town, was born in Halifax in 1786 and entered the navy, through the influence of the Duke of Kent, in 1797. Between that date and 1804, he served as midshipman or master's mate on seven different ships in Halifax or home waters. In 1804 he was promoted lieutenant and, during the next two years, saw service both in the West Indies and on the home station. In 1806 he was first flag-lieutenant to Commodore Hood at Portsmouth and later senior lieutenant on the *Comus*. From the latter ship in 1807 he took command of boats which captured six merchant vessels and a felucca in the Canary Islands. In these actions he was wounded several times and in recognition of his valour was presented with a sword worth £50 and a donation of £100 by the British Patriotic Society.

In 1807, also, he assisted in the blockade of Copenhagen and for his gallantry in an engagement with one of the Danish ships was promoted to the rank of commander. Between 1808 and 1813, he commanded different ships cruising in the North Sea and the Baltic and convoying British or neutral ships. On one cruise he had to provide thirteen prize-masters from his own ship. In 1813 he was appointed to the *Jaseur* in which he took over thirty vessels and an American privateer in Chesapeake Bay during the last year of the War of 1812. In June, 1814, he was promoted to captain. In due time he rose to the rank of vice-admiral, was made a Commander of the Bath, and died at Malvern, January 2, 1860.

Sir Edward Belcher, son of Andrew Belcher and grandson of Jonathan Belcher, the first Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, was born in Halifax in 1799, and entered the navy in 1812. He served on the home station and in Newfoundland waters until 1816, when

he first saw action as midshipman of the *Superb* in the bombardment of Algiers. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1818 and, for the next seven years, served in various ships based on Jamaica and Halifax.

In 1825, he was appointed assistant-surveyor on the *Blossom*, which sailed to the Pacific Ocean and Bering Straits on a voyage of discovery lasting three years. In 1829, he was advanced to commander and from 1830 to 1833 commanded the *Aetna* surveying the west and north coasts of Africa and the Douro for the Admiralty. In 1836 he was appointed to the *Sulphur*, and spent another three years surveying the coasts of South America at the end of which period he was ordered to return by the western route. When he arrived at Singapore in October, 1840, he was ordered to China, and in the Chinese War he rendered such signal service that he was promoted to captain, awarded the decoration Commander of the Bath, and later knighted. In 1843 he published *A Narrative of a Voyage round the World performed in H.M.S. Sulphur during the years 1836-42*.

In the meantime he had been appointed to the *Samarang* to survey the coast of China, but was sent to Borneo, the Philippine Islands, and Formosa instead. This task took five years and he did not return to England until the last day of 1847. In 1848 he published *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang*.

In 1852 he was in command of an abortive expedition to the Arctic in search of Sir John Franklin. He published an account of this expedition, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages*, in 1855. This proved to be the last of his voyages also; but he rose to the rank of rear-admiral in 1861, of vice-admiral in 1866, and of admiral in 1872. In 1867 the title of K.C.B. was conferred upon him and he died on March 18, 1877. His later years were spent in literary and scientific leisure and in this period he produced among other things a naval novel in three volumes, entitled *Horatio Howard Breton*, which his biographer calls "an exceedingly stupid one." He also edited a *Sailors Word Book*.

Herbert John Clifford was born in Halifax in 1789, and entered the navy in 1802 on board the *Leander*, then on the North American station, and in 1805 took part in the capture of *La Ville de Milan* and the recapture of her prize the *Cleopatra*. Later he served on the *Leopard* and again saw action in 1807 when the *Leopard* attacked the United States frigate *Chesapeake*. In 1808 he went in the *Leopard* to the Cape of Good Hope, and two years later joined the *Caledon* as acting-lieutenant. In the same year

he was transferred to the *Boadicea*, and saw action in the recapture from the French of the *Africaine* and the capture of *La Venus* and her prize the *Ceylon* in the Indian Ocean. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1811 and between 1812 and 1817 served on the East India station successively on the *Samarang*, *Bucephalus*, *Illustrious*, *Minden*, *Africaine*, *Victor*, and *Lyra*, the last two of which were under command of Capt. Basil Hall, who wrote an account of their work in *Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo Choo Island*, etc. In 1816-17 Lieutenant Clifford compiled a vocabulary of the language of the Great Loo Choo Island, which was published as an appendix to Captain Hall's book. In 1823 he was appointed inspecting-commander in the Coast Guard and in due course attained the rank of captain. In his later years he founded and took an active interest in the Loo Choo Naval Mission. He died in 1857 or 1858.

William Robert Wolseley Winniett was born in Annapolis Royal on March 2, 1793. He was a descendant of one of the oldest families in Nova Scotia as his great-grandfather was that William Winniett already referred to, who had come to Port Royal with General Nicholson in 1710, had married an Acadienne in the following year, and thrown in his lot permanently with the province. He entered the navy in 1807 on board the *Cleopatra*, then serving on the coast of North America and in the West Indies. In 1809 he saw action in the capture of the French frigate *La Topaze* in Guadeloupe and in the reduction of Martinique. From 1811 to 1813 he served as midshipman and master's mate on the *Africaine* chiefly in the East Indies. During the next eight years he served on the North American, Home, West India, and African stations on five different ships. In 1821 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and during the next fifteen years served in various capacities in the Coast Guard. From 1837 to 1839 he was in command of the *Viper* and *Firefly* on the African, North American, and West India stations. By 1845 he had attained the rank of captain, and was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Gold Coast, where he had to conduct certain delicate negotiations with the King of Ashanti. He returned to England in 1849, was knighted for his services, and sent back as governor-general. He died at his post on December 4, 1850, and in the following year a monument was erected to his memory.

William Pringle Green, grandson of the Honourable Benjamin Green, the first provincial treasurer of Nova Scotia, was born in Halifax in 1785, and entered the navy as a first-class volunteer, on

board the *Resolution*, which was then on the Halifax station, in July, 1796. Before the end of the year he became midshipman of the *Cleopatra*. From 1797 to 1801, he served on the *Topaze* in the West Indies, saw action against the Spaniards off Havana and in Gibraltar Bay, and accompanied the Duke of Kent to England as his naval aide-de-camp. During the next two years he served in the West Indies. In June, 1803, he went to England and was drafted into the *Conqueror*. This ship was part of Nelson's fleet which pursued the French to the West Indies and later fought the battle of Trafalgar. It was the *Conqueror* which took the French commander-in-chief's ship *Bucentaure* as a prize, and Green was in charge of the boats which took the prize in tow, his boats having been twice sunk in the attempt. For his services on that occasion Green was promoted to a lieutenancy. In 1808 he was appointed to the *Euridyce*, which was employed as a ship of observation off Nova Scotia during the American embargo of that year. From 1812 to 1815 he was in command of the *Resolute* off the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, and during that period is said to have practised a mode of training the crew which was afterwards adopted by the whole navy. From 1826 to 1829 he was agent afloat to the Transport Service, and in November of the latter year he was in command of the *Frolic*, one of the Falmouth packets. He held this command until 1832. From 1842 to 1843 he served on the Victory guardship in Portsmouth, but does not seem to have been employed afterwards. He died in November 1846, at the age of sixty-one.

According to O'Byrne, the naval biographer, Lieutenant Green was an officer of great mechanical powers who devoted the greater portion of his life to the improvement of the service but received less than his due of recognition. For an imitation of his plan of lowering and fiddling topmasts another person received £5,000 from the Admiralty. However, he received silver medals from the Society of Arts for his improvements in rigging ships, his "tiller for a disabled rudder" and his "gun carriage and jointed ramrod for naval use," and he took the precaution to patent "an invention of improvements in capstans & machinery employed in raising, lowering, and moving ponderous bodies and matters." Lieutenant Green also published a volume, *Fragments on Electricity, Magnetism, etc.*

Such in brief were the achievements of these ten Nova Scotian officers in the Royal Navy. There may have been more; but these are all that I have been able to identify at present; and I

have made no attempt to list or enumerate the hundreds of ratings who enlisted or were impressed into the same service.¹ But the records of these ten alone afford sufficient proof that Nova Scotians in the past took to the navy like a duck to water, and made no small contribution to its history.

Of the seven admirals, six are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and, of the ten officers, all but the first two admirals are discussed in O'Byrne's *Naval Biography*, they being omitted because he dealt with only those who were living when he wrote. All these men lived in stirring times. The earlier ones saw service in the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, and both the American and French Revolutionary Wars. The later group had their chief opportunity in the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. But all without exception saw action in remote corners of the globe and acquitted themselves like men, thereby enriching directly the history of their native province and indirectly the naval tradition of the Dominion of Canada.

D. C. HARVEY

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

¹Since this article was written I have learned that three descendants of Charles Morris, the first Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, served in the Royal Navy, that at least two descendants of Elias Marshall of H. M. Naval Yard, Halifax, John Holton a son and William a grandson, held commissions of commander and lieutenant respectively, and that Commander James Pearl, R.N., of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, was knighted for his services. As I have been unable to discover full biographical details of these officers, I merely add their names to the list already discussed.

BRITAIN'S DEFENCE OF NEWFOUNDLAND

A SURVEY, FROM THE DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT DAY

"IN the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," says a recent writer, "that nation which held Newfoundland controlled the New World." History, he suggested, was today repeating itself. No generalization could be further from the truth. Newfoundland was never a base of operations for control of the New World; the island was rather a challenge cup, valuable not so much for itself as for what it symbolized, and going eventually to that power which after three decisive wars held the command of the sea.

Until our own times, Newfoundland was more important to Great Britain for its fisheries, and the usefulness of these as a training school for seamen, than as a strategic element in North American military or naval operations. Theoretically, of course, it controlled the two entrances to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Straits of Belle Isle, nine miles from the Labrador coast at the closest point, and Cabot Strait, some sixty miles from Nova Scotia at the Narrows. But for many years only the French, who were on the defensive, showed any anxiety to fortify the harbours. Not until the nineteenth century was St. John's provided with a dock-yard, and the defences of the port remained notoriously weak, even when Britain's hold on the Gulf was slackened by the cession of Cape Breton to France in 1713.

Other factors, diplomatic and private, influenced this policy of neglect, but they are of secondary importance in the light of the salient consideration that Britain, for the greater part of three centuries, held command of the sea. A colony which was not self-sufficient in the economic and military sense could not hope to exist unless its mother country controlled communications. Hence the struggle for Newfoundland as well as for Canada was bound to turn on the question of command of the sea. This is not to suggest, however, that land armies were not a vital element in the fight for the dominion of the New World; in territorial conquest, the final battle is almost always on land. But unlike Canada, Newfoundland was not an object of territorial conquest; as a nursery of seamen, it was not ordinarily considered as a field for settlement. Acquisition was not intended to mean occupation, but merely the establishment of control, which was obtained by means of the fleet.

Apart, therefore, from occasional raids, the fundamental fact in the history of Newfoundland prior to the twentieth century is its complete aloofness from general strategical considerations. His

Majesty's ships protected the fishing fleet at the banks, but there is no official reference to the island as a base for attack or defence. So long as the French were unable to maintain a strong squadron in the North Atlantic, the fortification of Newfoundland could in no way affect operations in and about the Gulf. British strategy was based on a decision in metropolitan waters; the main task of the British fleet was to immobilize the enemy by blockade or bring him to a decision outside his own ports. Only on rare occasions, when the enemy escaped to the west, did Newfoundland play even a minor part in military operations.

I

Aug. 10, 1497. To hym that found the New Isle, 10 £.

Although John Cabot brought home no cargoes of gold and silver, he did bring news of immense shoals of fish which he claimed to have seen off the coast of Newfoundland. In making this modest announcement, Cabot ushered into modern European diplomacy a new field of international competition and exploitation. The former fishing haunt of occasional Basques, Portuguese, and French was to become a zone of conflict in which four European powers and finally one North American fought for supremacy until the opening years of the twentieth century. The northern half of the New World which seemed to hold in its beginnings so little interest for the new states of Europe suddenly revealed at its portals a new kind of Eldorado, and from the opening years of the sixteenth century began a tide of voyages and a struggle of arms which was to result in three centuries of military and diplomatic conflict.¹ Not until 1904 did Anglo-French disputes over Newfoundland come to an end. Quarrels between Britain and the United States continued until 1910, and it was two years more before a treaty was signed finally establishing the limits of British North American waters.

The first phase in the recorded history of Newfoundland might be called the commercial and non-political. Although pilgrimages to the banks had become an annual adventure for the fishing fleets of western Europe, they represented individual rather than national competition. The flag did not follow the trade, and for the first half-century at least, the cod fishermen on the south and east

¹The importance of Newfoundland as a fishing base is reflected in the maps of the period. The Portuguese word for cod, *bacalhao*, was given to the islands in that area; the Spanish form, *bacallao*, was used for the island itself, and sometimes for the neighbouring mainland. There are maps in existence in which the whole North American continent is labelled "cod-land." See Adolf Rein, *Der Kampf Westeuropas um Nord Amerika im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1925), 93.

coasts settled their grievances without benefit of kings and diplomats. The Newfoundland area became a unique international zone for private enterprise; no state aimed at a national monopoly; no nation or individual sought to acquire land or start a settlement. A few persons may have wintered there, but they were the exceptions. It was the summer visitors whose various nationalities are reflected in ports and capes and reefs even to the present day.² In contrast to the rich Spanish colonies of the Indies, here was developing an international No-man's Land, almost unnoticed by the growing Powers on the Continent.

If Columbus had discovered Newfoundland, the situation might have been different. As it happened, European interest at the beginning of the age of discovery concentrated on the gold of Mexico and Peru. Cabot's voyage from a country of little or no political importance did not disturb the court of Spain. Later expeditions from France aroused greater fears, and Cartier's plans and progress were jealously watched;³ but even when the French had won a foothold, Spain seems to have disregarded the importance of the achievement. A north-west passage to the East had not been found; and unless the Gulf of St. Lawrence issued into the Pacific, Newfoundland which guarded the entrance could hardly be regarded as an important base.

Sooner or later, however, national interest was bound to penetrate the international playground of private interest. During the first half of the sixteenth century, the fisheries were exploited only as a source of wealth; but as the annual harvest increased, as Honfleur, Dieppe, and Saint Malo added to the number of their "Terreneuviers," and Portugal built up her industry, jealousy on the part of Spain and England inevitably introduced the question of exclusive rights to specified regions, and in the long run, territorial and commercial rivalry begot national conflict. From 1552 on, Spain began to take an active part not only in convoying her Basque fishing fleet, but in attempting to oust the French.⁴ In the next few years we hear of minor sea engagements, and of at least one Spanish attack on St. John's, which resulted in heavy

²*Ibid.*, 94.

³H. P. Biggar, *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1930, 140-3, 158-62).

⁴H. A. Innis, "The Rise and Fall of the Spanish Fishery in Newfoundland" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XXV, Ottawa, 1931, sec. II, 51).

destruction to the French fishing fleet.⁵ Only the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 saved the French industry from complete destruction, and this was but an interlude heralding the beginnings of the Spanish-English feud which was to occupy intermittently the last three decades of the century.

Hitherto, England had done little to press the Cabot claim; Iceland was the favourite rendezvous of the fishing ships, and as late as 1578 Anthony Parkhurst could write: "The trade that our nation hath to Island [Iceland] maketh that the English are not there [in Newfoundland] in such numbers as other nations."⁶ The new note of Atlantic imperialism was sounded by Sir Walter Raleigh, who was the first to associate national power with fisheries. He dubbed Newfoundland a vital point in the western hemisphere, and warned his countrymen that the loss of the Newfoundland fleet would be the greatest calamity England could suffer.⁷ Thence began a series of semi-official marauding expeditions aimed at driving the Spanish from Newfoundland. Gilbert's so-called voyage of discovery was directed at Spanish shipping on the banks as well as in the West Indies.⁸ The cautious Walsingham wrote approvingly of expeditions, which not only distressed the navy of Spain, but worked to the great advantage of England,⁹ and in the same year, 1585, he commissioned Bernard Drake to proceed to Newfoundland to seize all ships belonging to the King of Spain or any of his subjects.¹⁰ In 1583, Gilbert laid claim to the island in the name of Queen Elizabeth, but there was no official assertion of national sovereignty. The enigmatic ministers of Elizabeth's day continued to stress the international character of the Newfoundland zone in gentle warnings to foreign freebooters, while tirelessly following Raleigh's advice to undermine their rivals' industry.

⁵See C. B. Judah, *The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XVIII, Urbana, 1933, 25-7); Charles de La Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine Française* (Paris, ed. 2 of vols. I-III, 1909-32), III, 140, 280, 589-94.

⁶H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (New Haven and Toronto, 1940), 13; see also, George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, ed. with an introduction by James A. Williamson (American Geographical Society, Special Publication, no. 10, New York, 1928), which discusses projects for an English base in North America to oppose the Spaniards, pp. 52-3, 79, 88-9.

⁷D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* (London, 1896), 70.

⁸R. G. Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763* (New Haven, 1934), 29.

⁹*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90* (London, 1865), vol. 177, no. 58, p. 234.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 179, no. 21, p. 246; see also vol. 183, no. 13, p. 273, and vol. 186, no. 20, p. 302; also letter to the Queen, of Dec. 20, 1585 (*in Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1585-6*, London, 1921, 229).

The defeat of the Armada was one element in the decline of the Spanish fishery, although it by no means marked the end of Spanish sea power. After 1590, a vastly improved Spanish navy menaced English shipping, and during the remaining years of the century, Spain was a sporadic threat to English fishing enterprise. But as the Spanish fishery itself fell away, the effect was not only to increase the Mediterranean market for the two chief surviving competitors, but to mark one further step in their growing national rivalry.¹¹ With the beginning of the seventeenth century came the first stout protests on the part of the French government against "Wrongs Done to the Subjectes of that Kingdome . . . by the English in their ffishing at Newefound-lande," and the time-worn answer of the English Privy Council, who guaranteed "restitution and punishment of the offenders," if the depredations were proven.¹²

II

During the seventeenth century, interest in the fisheries ceased to be simply a matter of commercial profit and loss. The export value of the cod in terms of Spanish specie was still recognized, but the relation of the cod to maritime strength in terms of manpower grew to sudden significance with the growth of national rivalries. The beginnings of sea warfare which followed the growth of commercial competition, and the surprising decisiveness of fleet engagements, as exemplified by the defeat of the Spanish Armada, stimulated an immediate interest in maritime training grounds. It was not long before the fisheries were accepted by every European power as a first-rate school for seamen; and as national or political power gradually superseded private economic effort, the Newfoundland fishery lost its privileged position as an international zone of industrial competition and became a military element in the European balance of power.

For this reason, English colonization projects during this period were protective rather than acquisitive in character. Beyond the commission of 1630 which directed the Lord Treasurer and others "to erect a common fishery as a nursery for seamen," and another issued by Charles I in 1633 "for the well-governing of his subjects inhabiting in Newfoundland, or trafficking in bays, creeks, or fresh

¹¹Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland*, 30; Judah, *The North American Fisheries*, 37.

¹²See letters of the Queen Regent of France, July 12, 1613 (in *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, ed. by W. L. Grant and James Munro, London, 1908-12, I (1613-1680), 3-4, 7-8, 112-13).

rivers," there was no settled policy of administration. Most of the plans for colonization such as that of lawyer Hakluyt's friend, Anthony Parkhurst, were aimed at safeguarding the fisheries rather than exploiting the territory occupied. This was one justification for the six colonies attempted during the reign of James I. Sir William Alexander's colony in Nova Scotia, the Kirke attempt in Canada, and subsequently the grant to the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir David Kirke in Newfoundland were designed in part to check the expansion of the French fishery.¹³ With a similar appreciation of strategic values, the French in their turn destroyed Lord Ochiltree's colony on Cape Breton Island.¹⁴

The Civil War was disastrous for the fishery,¹⁵ and ultimately for the royal dictator in Newfoundland, Sir David Kirke.¹⁶ Rupert's ships dislocated the trade and his captains impressed seamen.¹⁷ When Parliament eventually triumphed, the "nursery" had been riddled by desertions, and the whole industry completely disorganized.¹⁸ These wounds were hardly healed, when war with the Dutch, which followed four years after the Restoration, brought new misfortunes. While the plague swept London, de Ruyter climaxed his attacks on the African coast colonies with a raid on Newfoundland in June, 1665, destroying shipping and shore equipment in St. John's, Bay Bulls, and Petty Harbour.¹⁹ The convoy system prevented further damage to the fleet in transit, although Dutch privateers continued to be a nuisance to the trade, and as late as 1673 plundered Ferryland, destroying cattle and burning seventy fishing boats.²⁰

The hue and cry over Dutch depredations, and the growing alarm at the expansion of French dominion on the south coast raised the fundamental question of whether or not Newfoundland should be regularly colonized, governed, and defended as a settled plantation rather than kept as a fisherman's base at the mercy of every chance marauder. Colonization even for defence was anathema to the West Country fishing interests. Official settlement

¹³Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland*, 61.

¹⁴*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1574-1660* (London, 1860), 105-6, 170-1.

¹⁵Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part 1, The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (London, 1891-3), I, 168.

¹⁶Judah, *The North American Fisheries*, 90.

¹⁷*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1651-2* (London, 1877), vol. 24, no. 45, p. 294.

¹⁸Robert Coytmor to General Deane, Feb. 25, 1653 (in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1652-3*, vol. 33, no. 106, p. 186).

¹⁹James, Duke of York to Sir William Penn, July 2, 1665 (*Portland MSS. II*, 102-3).

²⁰*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1675-6*, no. 495, p. 197.

meant civil administration, which meant in turn, regular immigration, the growth of settlement, and the loss of the fishing monopoly to the inhabitants, as had been the case in New England. Colonial enterprise would accomplish, they claimed, the ruin not only of the English fishing fleet, but of the most important nursery for seamen.²¹ Moreover, the Western Adventurers could produce an argument which had already found wide support in government circles. Most of the recent regulations governing the fishery, the charters of 1661 and 1676, were all founded on the acceptance of Newfoundland as a nursery for seamen, and various clauses specifically prohibited the transportation of any persons to Newfoundland other than members of fishing crews or persons legally entitled to reside on the island. Not only did resident fishermen compete with the Old Countrymen, but what was of more national importance, they were not available for impressment in the navy.²²

In finally rejecting plans for the settlement of Newfoundland, the Committee for Trade and Plantations, it has sometimes been suggested, were subject to the persuasion of powerful West Country interests, and actuated less by the military necessities of the situation than by the costs involved in the establishment of local defences and civil government. Although there can be no denying the influence of the West Country in Parliament (next to the East India organization, they probably possessed the greatest lobbying strength),²³ there is no evidence that the Committee acted merely as the cat's paw of fishing capitalists. Expense was always a consideration at Whitehall, but it should be remembered that in the seventeenth century no European power undertook large-scale fortifications in the western hemisphere. The need of external bases was not so pressing as it later became. Even in the days of her glory, Spain's colonial empire had no adequate defences, and the fortifications at Havana and Vera Cruz were little more than pretence.²⁴ Until the eighteenth century, operations outside the European theatre were rare; during periods of war the only military forces ordinarily sent overseas were attached to convoys. Not until the days of organized colonial campaigns did British governments take an active interest in promoting land fortifications overseas. Neither Gibraltar nor Louisbourg was established as a base of

²¹*Ibid.*, 1661-8, no. 1730, p. 558.

²²G. S. Graham, "Fisheries and Sea Power" (*Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1941, Toronto, 1941, 26).

²³*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I.*, 1696-7, preface, xxiv.

²⁴F. P. Renaud D'Outre-Seille, "L'Evolution du problème des bases navales" (*La Revue maritime*, CXLVI, Feb., 1932, 17).

operations until after 1713, and Halifax not until 1748. In the opinion of the English Privy Council, the defence of Newfoundland during a large part of the year was unnecessary because of ice, and ample protection during summer was furnished not only by convoy, but by the battle fleet in the English Channel, "for that place [Newfoundland] will allwayes belong to him that is superior at sea."²⁵ No amount of fortifications could have saved Newfoundland had the command of the sea been lost, any more than Louisbourg's masonry could have saved French Canada.

Nevertheless, government neglect of small local defences was unwise and costly, as the War of the League of Augsburg was to show. England had not yet acquired that confident control of the ocean which was to be hers during the major part of the eighteenth century, and reversals at home, although merely temporary, could make a profound difference in the situation across the Atlantic. The Committee for Trade and Plantations scorned the French fortifications at Placentia as useless, except for protection against Indians; but such was not the view of so able a strategist as Dutch de Ruyter. "[I] would not have ventured in," he is reported to have said, following his successful raid of 1665, "if there had been but six guns mounted in St. John's."²⁶ Fortifications on a grand scale were obviously impracticable in an island "with more harbours than any known country of equal extent," but a small standing force properly equipped would have been sufficient to prevent the destructive raids which originated from the French base at Placentia.

Ousted from the territory between Cape Race and Bonavista, Louis XIV's government had decided as early as 1655 to fortify Placentia as a base of operations on the south coast. West of the Avalon Peninsula within a deep bay of the same name, Placentia (Plaisance) was a makeshift port of wooden houses set among the rocks and hillocks at the time when the first governor, Sieur de Kereon, made his unsuccessful attempt to introduce permanent government among the migrant fishermen. Seven years later in 1662, Fouquet sent out Du Perron with a batch of emigrants, thirty soldiers, and eighteen pieces of ordnance, and this little garrison took possession of the falling earthen entrenchments, somewhat ludicrously named the Fort.²⁷

²⁵Report of Committee of the Privy Council on Newfoundland, 1675 (in *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, I, 622).

²⁶Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1661-8, no. 1729, p. 558.

²⁷Robert Le Blant, *Un Colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costabelle, Gouverneur de Terre-Neuve, Puis de l'Ile Royale (1661-1717)* (Paris and Dax, 1935), 52.

Despite the difficulty of maintaining order (most of the inhabitants preferring piracy to the benefits of state protection), a strong effort was made to consolidate the French position. In 1687 more guns and soldiers were sent out under the command of Louis de Pastour de Costabelle, in company with an engineer, who was given the task of making the unruly garrison and inhabitants build fortifications. Always short of provisions and continually threatened with internal discord, France's first colony in Newfoundland became, nevertheless, the pivotal centre for a series of raids which by 1697 had destroyed every English settlement on the eastern coast except Bonavista and Carbonear.²⁸ St. John's was gutted, Ferryland, the "best harbour and pleasantest place in the whole Island," was left deserted, and only two or three inhabitants remained in Bay Bulls.²⁹

The re-occupation of St. John's in June, 1697, may be said to mark the beginning of a British defence policy for Newfoundland.³⁰ When Colonel Gibsone's regiment was recalled following the Treaty of Ryswick, one company, consisting of some three hundred officers and men along with an artillery train, was left in charge of Major Handasyd. From the beginning, the position of this little garrison was a precarious one. Short of provisions, clothing, and medical aids, one-third had perished before the retiring forces had reached England; by the end of the winter, the death toll was two hundred and fourteen. Yet, despite bitter cold, scurvy, and epidemic diseases, Handasyd and his able-bodied remnant toiled at the defences of the settlement. Barracks and storehouses were restored, palisades and drawbridges built, and rusty guns were cleaned and mounted on the batteries. Two forts of nine and five guns still stood on either side of the harbour's mouth, as well as one fort of sixteen guns within the bay, but all were in a miserable state of repair.³¹ The absence of dry timber prevented the garrison from building a boom across the harbour mouth, and it was fortunate for the surviving handful of soldiers and inhabitants that the French were in no condition themselves to renew the attack.

²⁸Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland* (London, 1819), 100-2. Anspach's narrative is usually illuminating, but there are several inaccuracies. See also, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1696-7*, nos. 392-3, p. 211; no. 422, p. 224; no. 586, p. 305; no. 608, p. 314.

²⁹Col. Gibsone (in command of the land forces) to the Council of Trade and Plantations, June 28, 1697 (in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1696-7*, no. 1115, p. 522).

³⁰*Ibid.*, 1696-7, no. 906, p. 440; no. 622, p. 320; no. 739, p. 377; nos. 755-6, p. 382; no. 888, pp. 433-4; no. 893, p. 435; nos. 948-9, p. 452.

³¹Council of Trade and Plantations to the King, March 30, 1698 (in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1697-8*, 156).

Major Handasyd is almost unknown to history, but he remains, none the less, the real founder of England's first permanently fortified base in Newfoundland.³²

Meanwhile, back in England the Office of Ordnance was threatening to refuse maintenance unless the costs of the garrison were charged to Colonies (although Newfoundland did not fall under the colonial establishment, and no department but the Ordnance could legally be held responsible for the island's defence). It was clear, however, that unless the government were prepared to accept the destruction of the fishery by French colonial forces at the outbreak of every war, money would have to be put into defence works, especially at St. John's. St. John's was a logical base of operations; its harbour could be reached from the sea only by a narrow passage, hardly more than five hundred feet across, which could easily be blocked by boom and chain. Around the town, well-wooded heights provided vantage points against attack from the land, while in the rear mile upon mile of morass and mountainous bush country seemed to present insuperable obstacles to the hauling of enemy artillery. But the main difficulty in the way of any defence project lay in the wide dispersal of the inhabitants. Colonel Gibbsone, who drew up a general report at the request of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, recommended confining the planters in other areas to certain fixed harbours, as the French had done, and he named Trepassey, Ferryland, Carbonear, Trinity, and Bonavista.³³

But such a plan was never practicable. Only an army could have prevented the inhabitants from scattering up the east coast. The Committee were willing to recommend new fortifications at St. John's, but they were loath to recognize illegal settlement by contributing to the defence of Trinity or Conception Bay. Even the limited scheme of St. John's defence was pared to the bone. In his anxiety to get at least part of his plan accepted, Colonel Gibbsone had unadvisedly suggested that the garrison could easily manage on short allowance, viz. six men to four men's food ration,³⁴

³²*Ibid.*, 42; see also the Preface, vi.

³³Gibsons to Council of Trade and Plantations, March 10, 1698 (*ibid.*, no. 286, p. 130); see also Norris to same, March 17, 1698 (*ibid.*, no. 301, pp. 137-8).

In 1703, Captain Richards opposed any plan of fortifying the out-harbours on the ground that "the French at Placentia have 3 companies of 50 men each, and in the winter they oblige all their inhabitants of that country to come and live there. It would be very well if the English did in like manner inhabit at St. John's; whilst scattered they may easily be insulted" (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1702-3*, no. 1342, p. 850).

³⁴*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1697-8*, nos. 337-8, pp. 158-9 and no. 384, p. 176.

and this general principle of economy the Admiralty were happy to approve. The final budget restricted each soldier's provisioning to 6d. a day, 2d. for clothing, and 2d. for additional expenses.³⁵ In June of 1698 Commodore Norris, newly commissioned as commander-in-chief, received his instructions to sail with the new garrison in convoy. On board, he was entrusted, by order of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, with £1,000 in cash, "for payment of the troops there, without which we fear they will desert."³⁶ In such a manner was Newfoundland launched on her new career as an imperial outpost.

During the next few years before the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the work of construction proceeded in fits and starts.³⁷ Colonel Roope of the Royal Engineers directed the work of construction, but he was handicapped by lack of materials, inefficiency on the part of local labourmen, and by almost constant bickering between Ordnance and Navy Board as to who should pay the bills. Before the boom could be fixed, the Lord High Admiral had to break through endless red tape to secure authorization, and when the boom finally reached its destination, there were no masts with which to float it.³⁸ Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the forts were never completed as planned. By the time war broke out again in 1701, forty guns had been mounted, but one company of eighty men was hardly sufficient to man them,³⁹ and within a year the number was still further reduced. Short of arms, ammunition, and clothing, without medical care, with but one shoe to ten men, cheated out of their pay by government agents, goaded to desperation by the ill-treatment or neglect of their commanding officer, some of the troops deserted; others mutinied.⁴⁰ In a feeble effort to bring some order out of the chaos, the commodore of the annual convoy was made commander-in-chief of the land forces in 1701; but even if this naval officer had been blessed with the highest order of political tact and diplomatic caution, the army as well as the merchants were bound to resent his control. Chiefly as a consequence of continued bickering, this

³⁵Ibid., no. 388, p. 177.

³⁶Committee of Trade and Plantations to Mr. Secretary Vernon, June 15, 1698 (*ibid.*, no. 586, p.277).

³⁷See Judah, *The North American Fisheries*, 161; Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland*, 210-12.

³⁸*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., Jan.-Dec., 1702*, nos. 425-6, p. 296.

³⁹*Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, II*, 463.

⁴⁰*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Am. and W.I., 1701*, no. 921, p. 556; *ibid.*, 1704-5, no. 596, p. 269; *ibid.*, 1710-11, no. 190, pp. 71-2.

first attempt on the part of the government to achieve some efficiency through unity was abandoned in 1705.⁴¹

The state of Newfoundland defences is reflected in the course of the war which was declared in May of 1702. While the British Cabinet planned expeditions which never materialized, the French continued their perennial raids, and once again the fort of St. John's fell before the invader. The failure of a projected campaign against Quebec in 1711 directed attention to Placentia as a second choice, but in view of the shortage of provisions, a council-of-war decided in favour of postponement. So it was left to English privateers to restore the prestige of the white ensign. Scouring the north shores of French settlements, and finally descending on Placentia, they captured a third of the French fishing fleet before Marlborough and the diplomats won full possession of the island at the peace-table.⁴²

Nothing shows more emphatically the new place of Newfoundland in the national life than the Treaty of Utrecht. Although the Treaty was a compromise weighted for good political reasons in favour of the defeated rival, Britain gained undisputed sovereign rights, the French waiving all claims except the right to fish and dry on the west and north coasts between Cape Riche and Bonavista. As a consequence, the British abandoned St. John's as their main base, and occupied Placentia; but the advantages of southern exposure were partly offset by the fact that France was allowed to retain Cape Breton, which she insisted on fortifying.

III

The Treaty of Utrecht ended the second phase of Newfoundland's maritime history. The first, the period of international flux following the discovery of the New World, had seen the banks the happy hunting-grounds of private interests, whose conflicts did little more than fret the chancelleries of Europe. The fisheries as an adjunct of economic and especially of national power had not yet come into their own. But with the growth of national states and national fleets, the situation by the end of the sixteenth century had changed. During the next hundred years, commercial competition and dynastic rivalries made the English more aware of French designs and more conscious of their own imperial objectives in North America. In the seventeenth century began the tide of

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 1704-5, no. 1147, p. 525.

⁴²See Le Blant, *Un Colonial sous Louis XIV*, 157.

pamphlets and speeches on the value of the cod-fishery as a "nursery for seamen." For a time, the strength of West Country influence added power to the arguments of the admirals who opposed settlement as dangerous to the "nursery," and it is probable too that West Country influence had something to do with the meagreness of the island's fortifications; but French aggression finally compelled the government and even the merchants to concede the need for land defence, if the fishery were to be saved from periodic disaster.

Already various restrictions upon resident fishermen had been removed, and on at least two occasions the administration had considered introducing civil government.⁴³ A concrete recognition of settlement had now come with the decision to establish permanent fortifications and a garrison at St. John's. Between 1691 and 1713, the French had given actual proof far more conclusive than batteries of theories that naval power alone was not adequate for the protection of the Newfoundland coast line.

As it happened, however, the ousting of the French from the southern coast in 1713 soon led to the same kind of administrative inertia which a conflict of doubts as to the status of Newfoundland had produced in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of Anne's reign the permanent garrison in Newfoundland averaged around eighty men. This number, it was intended, should be increased to two hundred, but by the beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession, there were in all eighty-five marines, thirty-six foot soldiers, and three officers.⁴⁴ St. John's, which had once more been occupied as a base, was still the centre of the fishing industry, but no attempt had been made to repair the fortifications. There was no barracks, no magazine, and rarely enough provisions; the outports which were entirely supplied from St. John's were quite undefended and open to attack and destruction from the smallest frigate.⁴⁵ In 1740, the Board of Trade had ordered the resident engineer to survey and make plans for the defence of St. John's, Ferryland, Trinity Harbour, and Carbonear;⁴⁶ but their recommendations were immediately opposed by the Master-General of Ordnance who refused to send guns and stores to a place "where there is neither Magazine, Storehouse or Platform,

⁴³Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland*, 209.

⁴⁴"Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, III, 663, 665-6.

⁴⁵Captain Thomas Craven to Admiral Townsend, July 2, 1746 (Admiralty In-Letters, London, Public Record Office transcripts in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, vol. 480, sec. II, 41-2).

⁴⁶May 21, 1741, *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* III, 662.

no Cover for defence of the Men nor Houses to quarter them upon." As a consequence, plans had to be modified, and orders were hurriedly given for the completion of makeshift defences by means of sod-work and palisades,—this to be done as cheaply as possible.⁴⁷ It was intended that a detachment of marines should be sent to help man the new batteries, but there is no evidence that such a reinforcement ever arrived.⁴⁸

On the whole, the history of Newfoundland during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War is episodic and unimportant. Apart from convoy and patrol work, the Admiralty were able to leave Newfoundland pretty much alone. Not until 1762 did an enemy squadron attempt a serious attack on the island, but like its less spectacular predecessors, this raid from France had no far-reaching consequences.

The ultimate defence of Newfoundland rested as before with the Royal Navy. This protection was provided in two ways. First by Atlantic convoy: the commodore of the annual convoy (who held the additional authority of governor after 1729) continued to escort the fishing fleet to the island usually in early June; there he patrolled the coasts against the omnipresent privateers until November, when he was accustomed to take the fishing fleet home. The ships and captains available for this service were not usually among the best in the navy, but in view of the arduous nature of the work, the wonder is that their losses were so few. The second method was by means of specially allocated ships called *stationed* ships, so named because they were assigned to protect particular localities, although it was understood that they should join up in the event of serious threat to neighbouring stations. A *stationed* squadron was never intended to engage an enemy battle fleet; it was assumed to be adequate to face a similar local force stationed in or near its own area, but a decision was left to the Home Fleet, and this was normally accomplished in European waters.

Because it was the most valuable British colony and also the close neighbour of the French Islands, Jamaica was the sole base for a permanent squadron in North American waters. The *stationed* ships were distributed between the Leeward Islands, Barbados,

⁴⁷Engineer's recommendations for St. John's fortifications had included two batteries, one of fourteen 24 pounders, the other of four 6 pounders; the total cost for storehouses, magazine and batteries was estimated at £3,650 (*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series III*, no. 485, p. 667).

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 665-6.

the North American colonies, and Newfoundland.⁴⁹ Although subordinate to the commander-in-chief of the North Atlantic squadron the commander at Newfoundland was rarely interfered with, or called from his station.⁵⁰ In 1812 when the Jamaica, Leeward Islands, and Halifax squadrons were consolidated in a single command, Newfoundland was exempt.⁵¹ Even after the establishment of the Halifax base in 1748, distance gave an independence which other stations of necessity lacked.

An absolute defence of so extended a coast line was, of course, impossible. Privateers and pirates continued to make frequent and damaging raids on settlements and shipping, and such attacks could only be curbed partially by means of convoys, careful patrol work,⁵² and by the repeated occupation of such resorts as St. Pierre and Miquelon. These latter duties were the task of the *stationed* squadron, which ordinarily comprised in peace time, a fifty-gun ship, two or three frigates (thirty-two guns) and perhaps a sloop. During war this number was substantially increased, frequently by the addition of a ship-of-the-line (over sixty guns). So long as Toulon and Brest were effectively blockaded by the Channel and Mediterranean Fleets, the Admiralty regarded this strength as ample. Except in periods of emergency, as for example when the French fleet escaped into the Atlantic, no great naval force was required to safeguard the island and the banks. Newfoundland, in the words of an Admiralty official, belonged to the nation which possessed the greatest naval power, "and cannot be of use to any other state."⁵³

Naval experts are generally agreed that this strategy of home concentration was the correct one; yet the government were always faced with the temptation to sacrifice concentration in the interests of colonial trade. The fishing groups, both London and West Country, were never satisfied with the amount of protection afforded, and all through the century there ran a string of complaints,

⁴⁹On this question of dispersal, see Admiralty In-Letters, vol. 480 for list of commissions and instructions to the various commanders-in-chief; also, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739-48* (Cambridge, 1920) III, 241; also, *ibid.*, Appendix B, 274-5, and Admiral A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812* (2 vols., Boston, 1919), I, 325.

⁵⁰See, for example, Holburne to Cleveland (secretary of the Admiralty Office), Sept. 30, 1757 (Admiralty In-Letters, vol. 481, sec. III, 209-10).

⁵¹Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, I, 387.

⁵²See Vice-Admiral Townsend to Captain Hardy, July 3, 1746 (Admiralty In-Letters, vol. 480, sec. II, 51-2).

⁵³Memorandum of Captain Philip Patton to Lord Middleton, 1794 (in *Letters and Papers of Charles Middleton, Lord Barham*, ed. by Sir John Knox Laughton, Navy Records Society, London, 1911, vol. 38), II, 395-400.

which usually concluded with a demand for three ships-of-the-line on all-year duty. In view of the rapidity with which sailing ships were used up through exposure and navigational dangers, the request was a ridiculous one. No ships could keep to the water for twelve months without cleaning or refitting, and in the neighbourhood of the banks ice and cold made winter cruising impossible (just as in the West Indies summer hurricanes, heat, and epidemic made summer campaigning difficult, if not impossible). In consequence, the North Atlantic *stationed* ships either returned to England or wintered in the West Indies, except for the years 1757-8, when as many as ten ships were left at Halifax to be ready for an early blockade of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁵⁴

In undertaking responsibility for the conquest of Canada, the Admiralty preferred to accept certain losses at the hands of privateers in order to concentrate on blocking Belle Isle and Cabot Straits. Some dispersions were, of course, possible. In 1756, Captain Holmes, taking advantage of the fact that all the French men-of-war had sailed for Europe, spent a profitable few weeks driving the French out of the lower St. Lawrence and Anticosti,⁵⁵ and in 1758 Durrell sent Captain Rous on a similar mission to Newfoundland.⁵⁶ But the really important thing in North Atlantic operations during the Seven Years' War was obviously the concentration of a squadron at the entrance of the Gulf, to block the supply routes to Louisbourg and Quebec. With the capture of Louisbourg in July, 1758, the danger of attack from the rear was removed, and so long as British cruisers continued to watch the Straits the capitulation of Quebec was inevitable.

Newfoundland played little part in the final assault. Seasonal decay had almost completed its work of demolition on the fortifications of St. John's; the port remained the central point of call for fishing convoys; its Court of Vice-Admiralty handled a few prizes, but Halifax, not St. John's, was the base of operations in the Gulf. "It is only the Security of that Place," wrote Vice-Admiral Holburne, with reference to Halifax, "that makes me prefer returning to it rather than to take advantage of the wind

⁵⁴See Commodore Spry to Cleveland, Oct. 28, 1762 (Admiralty In-Letters, vol. 480, sec. vi), 184; also Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-63* (Oxford, 1936), 276-8.

⁵⁵For details of French raids and English reprisals, see Gordon O. Rothney, "The History of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1754-1783" (a thesis submitted for the M.A. degree of the University of London, 1934).

⁵⁶Durrell to Cleveland, Nov. 5, 1758 (Admiralty In-Letters, vol. 481, sec. 5, 10).

and go directly to Newfoundland."⁵⁷ In point of position, as Admiral Graves wrote to the Board of Trade, Newfoundland was an ideal supply centre for expeditions against the North American continent,⁵⁸ but lack of docking facilities and the poverty of the land severely limited its value in this respect. Since Newfoundland commanded both passages to the Gulf as well as the homeward-bound trade from the West Indies, its occupation was essential for the conquest of Canada, but its organization as a military and naval base was not. The distance from St. John's to Halifax is 526 miles, and in an age of sails and before the bomber made more distant ramparts a necessity, Newfoundland was too far removed from settled coastal areas to justify a position such as Halifax was to hold in any scheme of North American defence. So long as Britain held a general sea superiority, the defence of Newfoundland was primarily a matter of trade protection, without any wider strategic implications. Even during the Great War of 1914-18, no harbour of Newfoundland was used as a main convoy base.

At the same time, the policy of fortifications first undertaken in 1697 was never abandoned. During the years 1765-6, Captain Debbieg, a military engineer, made a prolonged survey of the harbours. His report advised the dismantling of the works at Placentia, and concentration on the defence of St. John's.⁵⁹ On the whole Debbieg's recommendations were faithfully carried out, and bore fruit during both the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, when St. John's alone of all the harbours was maintained in "the most respectable state of defence." On the precipitous south side of the Narrows, Fort Amherst had been built to guard the entrance, which was also protected at the narrowest point by a boom. Further down the cliff stood South Fort Battery, and to the right of it, the guns of Chain Rock. High above the harbour were the ramparts and bastions of Fort Townsend enclosing the governor's house, barracks, storehouses, and magazine, and forming the central link of a circling chain of batteries. Prior to the visit of a French squadron under Admiral Richery in 1796, a barrier of rocks, swamp and woods made the heights above the Narrows almost

⁵⁷Holburne to Cleveland, Sept. 29, 1757 (*ibid.*, sec. III, 199-201); also Edwards to Holburne, Sept. 6, 1757, and other letters in the same volume showing the bad state of the fortifications at St. John's, and how completely exposed was the harbour.

⁵⁸Graves to Board of Trade, Aug. 18, 1762 (Colonial Office Series 194, London, Public Record Office, xv); contained in Rothney, *The History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 51.

⁵⁹See Cabinet Minutes, May 31, 1769, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report*, Appendix, Part v, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*, II (London, 1895), 68, also 559, 582.

inaccessible from the town; but following the French attack a road was built to old Fort William, which in earlier days had been the only protection for the harbour; from Fort William the road was continued upward high above the Narrows to Signal Hill, where Governor Sir James Wallace completed the defences of the town with a strong block-house flanked by two batteries.⁶⁰

The out-harbours, such as Bay Bulls, Ferryland, and St. Mary's were never given such complete protection and inevitably suffered from privateers, but in the eighteenth century, as in the seventeenth, Newfoundland was in no danger of conquest so long as Britain maintained her supremacy on the Atlantic. Only once was this supremacy in doubt—during the War of the American Revolution—and then d'Estaing and de Grasse with first-class ships preferred to aim their blows at the West Indies. Just as Washington was fearful of conquering Canada for France, so was Vergennes anxious to avoid any encouragement to an American occupation of Canada, an occupation which the reduction of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland might have facilitated.⁶¹

From 1696 to 1811 Newfoundland escaped even the slightest injuries of war. No enemy cruiser appeared upon the coasts, and trade from the outports to St. John's was conducted without convoy. As a consequence of this long immunity, every battery on the island had been either dismantled or become useless through decay, and when the first American privateers arrived in 1812, they found easy pickings in the out-harbours. But the anxiety of the merchants and inhabitants was short-lived. Sailings by convoy were made compulsory,⁶² and immediate steps were taken to ensure the co-ordination of all North Atlantic squadrons.⁶³ Losses through capture on the way to market were inevitable, but the shore fisheries remained free from molestation.⁶⁴ With the conditioning of the St. John's defences and the erection of temporary batteries at

⁶⁰See *The Naval Chronicle*, VII (London, 1802), 237-41.

⁶¹See Gordon O. Rothney, "British Policy in the North American Cod-Fisheries, with special reference to Foreign Competition, 1775-1819" (a thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London, 1939), 125.

⁶²Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, I, 388.

⁶³At this time, the North Atlantic command consisted of four stations, two in the West Indies, based on Jamaica and Barbados, one at Halifax with Bermuda as an alternative, embracing the Atlantic coast line, and the fourth at Newfoundland. The first three had already been consolidated into a single command under Sir John Warren, in anticipation of war; the Newfoundland station was strengthened, but in view of its remoteness from the scene of likely combat and blockade, it retained its independence (see *ibid.*, I, 324-5, 387).

⁶⁴Admiral Keats to Lord Bathurst, Dec. 29, 1814, Colonial Office Series 194, L.V.

points along the south and east coasts, nervousness disappeared, and the cod soon replaced the Yankee as the object of pursuit and interest.

IV

From the time of Trafalgar to the end of the first Great War, Britain was in a position to deny the Atlantic to her enemies. Ships, not fortresses, remained the key to supremacy in the New World. While grass and scrub gradually crept over the broken walls of Louisbourg, Newfoundland remained strategically the "great ship, moored near the banks," but a ship which under the economic stresses of the post-war world became almost a derelict. In the nineteenth century, the carrying trade displaced the fishery as a nursery of seamen, while steam power and the screw propeller imperceptibly drew the island closer both to Europe and to North America. But not until Alcock and Brown flew their fragile aircraft to Ireland in 1919 was its destiny assured. From then on, the progress of science has steadily shifted the European centre of gravity westward, and as people of today dust off their atlases and twirl their globes, they discover that St. John's is much closer to London than is Tokyo to Singapore, and that Newfoundland is hardly more than 1,100 miles from the Azores.

Meanwhile, as Germany and Japan attempt to transform Europe, Asia, and Africa into one vast block—a single unified base for the assumption of air and sea command—Newfoundland, for so many years the isolated ship, has become a fortress, the north-eastern bastion of the other great geographical unit, North America. But since the world has shrunk in space and time as a consequence of the gigantic efforts of the Axis, neither fogs and ice, nor even ships provide any longer a sufficient barrier against invasion. And once in occupation, the conqueror of Newfoundland would have within radius of his planes the industrial cities of the East as far inland as Windsor and Detroit and as far south as Virginia. Against such an occupation, the North American defenders of Newfoundland possess a continental outpost, standing forward in the Atlantic, 1,600 miles closer to Europe than New York, a focal point from whence aircraft and ships may intercept any enemy move against Greenland or New England, and from which long-range bombers may range as far as continental Europe.

Blocking the Gulf of St. Lawrence, this huge and deeply indented island of 42,000 square miles has become for the first time

in its history an intimate adjunct of North America. Always a subject of calculation at the peace-table, but rarely touched by the clashes of the European dynasts, it stood alone and undeveloped until a Brave New World made it the north-eastern rampart of the western hemisphere. Today only a fishing village and a monument mark the site of Louisbourg, but the re-incarnation of the "Great Fortress" as guardian of the Gulf is symbolized in the growing airfields and dockyards of Newfoundland.

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THE DISMISSAL OF LORD GLENELG FROM THE OFFICE OF COLONIAL SECRETARY

THE resignation of Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, from the office of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies on February 5, 1839, is usually regarded as having been forced upon him by colleagues unable longer to endure his incompetence and idleness. A sounder explanation of his dismissal seems to lie in the determination of the Melbourne government to circumvent the plans of the Radicals and at the same time to allay, if possible, their antagonism. Incompetence and idleness were charges hurled at Glenelg by the Radical leader, Molesworth, in a speech before the House of Commons March 6, 1838; and, so far as there was any public opinion with respect to the matter, the charges had apparently been accepted as true. It was possible, therefore, for members of the cabinet, most of whom had no knowledge of the problems of the Secretary, to believe that they were making a change in the Colonial Office on grounds of public interest.¹ If, however, one can judge by Glenelg's correspondence with the governors of some thirty colonies, the policy of his office was intelligent, and seemed wavering only to those unaware that the questions were too complicated to permit of simple and direct solutions. According to testimony of those most closely associated with him, Glenelg himself was neither incompetent nor indolent; and while freeing him from the opprobrium of such characterization may not add to his stature as a public servant, it should help in further clarification of a situation important in the history of the empire.

It is clear that in the autumn of 1838, the Radicals were again cherishing the hope that had made Molesworth so exuberant when he succeeded in organizing the Reform Club in 1836;² they talked of combining with the Whigs to overthrow the government and, as the result of the ensuing general election, to come into power under the leadership of Lord Durham.³ To prevent this the Melbourne government needed to persuade Durham to work with them and at the same time to compensate the Radicals in some measure for the failure of their plans. While Durham undoubtedly

¹Russell could not have thought that a change from Glenelg to Normanby would bring either greater ability or greater industry and efficiency to the direction of the Colonial Office.

²Letter from Molesworth to his mother, February, 1836, quoted in Mrs. Fawcett, *Life of Sir William Molesworth* (London, 1901), 745.

³Chester New, *Lord Durham* (Oxford, 1929), 476-8, 480-6.

would see that his proposals in regard to Canada could be carried out only by co-operation with a Whig rather than with either a Tory or Radical-Whig government, it would be a pleasant gesture to make it unnecessary for him to work with Glenelg. It was the latter who had given the instructions followed by Durham in dealing with men imprisoned for their connection with the rebellion in Lower Canada. It was Glenelg who had written that Durham had solved a very difficult question "most judiciously and ably," only to join nine days later with the rest of the cabinet in the disallowance of the Ordinance. From Glenelg, too, Durham had received with deepest resentment the disapproval in the name of the Queen of his Proclamation of October 9, 1838.

The Radicals, who for more than a year had been demanding a change in the Colonial Office, might regard the forced resignation of Glenelg as a concession to their wishes by the government. They might be further placated if office were given to some who leaned toward their views. Lord Normanby and Lord Morpeth, whose appointment to the government of Ireland in 1835 had been considered evidence of Radical influence,⁴ were in difficulties and the Cabinet could be so re-arranged as to include one or both of them.⁵

Some members of the government, too, would be well satisfied if Glenelg no longer sat at the council board. Lord Howick, whose cantankerous disposition frequently kept his colleagues occupied in trying to please him, had differed—and of course violently—with the rest of the cabinet on the coercive legislation of 1837.⁶ From that time forward he had been openly antagonistic to Glenelg and by December of 1838, was threatening to resign if the latter stayed. He renewed his threats in January, 1839, when he differed again with the Colonial Secretary over the Jamaica policy.⁷ As Howick was Durham's brother-in-law and on intimate terms with him, Glenelg's withdrawal might please him on two scores.

Russell had no enthusiasm for Glenelg, and when after 1835 the former's effective leadership of the House of Commons brought him to a dominant position in the cabinet, he had not hesitated to

⁴S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism, 1832-1852* (London, 1935), 140.

⁵Lord Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, 1909-1911), V, 175; *The Courier* (London), Feb. 13, 1839.

⁶One of the Ten Resolutions which in March, 1837, had expressed the British government's policy with reference to Lower Canada, had authorized the governor of the province to use provincial funds without vote of the assembly.

⁷Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (London, 1891), I, 307, 326.

show his feeling.. Russell probably could not forget that Glenelg had been a Canningite and had long opposed reform of parliament on the lines laid down by the Whigs. Moreover, Glenelg's association with Huskisson at the Board of Trade could hardly have endeared him to the landed class to which the Russells belonged,⁸ and Lord John, with his urbane point of view would find it difficult not to be sceptical of the judgment of any one of the "Saints," the Evangelical group to which the Grants belonged. No doubt, also, Glenelg's apathetic manner irritated the energetic Russell. Personal dislike for Glenelg seems apparent in a letter marked "Private" which Russell wrote to Melbourne while the former was still in the deep depression which he experienced after his wife's death in November, 1838. After mentioning that he had been speaking to Melbourne for more than a year of his dissatisfaction with the conduct of colonial affairs, he continued, ". . . at last I reproached myself with the pertinacity of this representation to you and felt, I know not why, that I was punished by affliction and misery for busying myself too much in these arrangements of office . . ." In conclusion he stated that "some opposition" had made him renew his earlier objections and decide that he would resign his office as a protest against leaving colonial affairs in "present hands."⁹

Conscious of unpopularity due to their treatment of Durham and knowing that only a few Radicals voting with the Tories could turn them out of office, the members of Melbourne's cabinet knew by the midsummer of 1838 that they were in grave danger, and news of Durham's resignation spurred them to action.¹⁰ On October 19, 1838, Melbourne wrote Russell, in response to Russell's letter of October 18, 1838, suggesting Glenelg's removal, and saying that he had conferred with Glenelg in regard to a reply to Durham's letter of resignation. He then went on, "Newport¹¹ is a little better so there is a little breathing time," and in conclusion remarked that the first step would be to ascertain whether Glenelg would accept Newport's place.¹² On October 20, Duncannon wrote Melbourne that he thought there was a "strong feeling for a change in the colonial office." He suggested that it

⁸Beginning in 1839 Russell ceased to advocate protection for grain (*Walpole, Russell*, I, 423).

⁹Russell Papers, Public Record Office, Russell to Melbourne, Feb. 2, 1839. The part of the letter apparently explaining the nature of the opposition, is illegible.

¹⁰New, *Lord Durham*, 476.

¹¹Newport held the office of Comptroller General of the Exchequer.

¹²L. C. Sanders (ed.), *Lord Melbourne's Papers* (London, 1889), 433.

would strengthen the government if Spring-Rice, who had made himself very unpopular in the House of Commons, should be made Colonial Secretary and removed to the upper House.¹³ On the 26th, Melbourne wrote again to Russell saying that the question whether or not Glenelg would accept Newport's place was the "beginning of all things," but pointing out advantages and disadvantages of putting Spring-Rice in the Colonial Office.¹⁴

About the same time, Lord Minto wrote Lord Lansdowne to report that Howick had just arrived in "great good humor and spirits," also that he appeared to be "quite sure the government would not survive the first fortnight of the session of Parliament," and was "not indisposed to aid in the accomplishment of his prediction."¹⁵ The embarrassment and uncertainty of the Melbourne government, and their obvious dread of the opening of parliament, no doubt gave aid and comfort to their opponents, and rumours were rife as to the cabinet changes which they would make in an effort to improve their position. Andrew Stevenson, United States Minister to Great Britain, writing that there would be a cabinet council at Windsor on the evening of November 5, 1838, said "I think it not improbable that the Marquis of Normanby . . . will succeed Lord Durham and the Duke of Richmond go to Ireland."¹⁶

Lord Holland, writing to Lansdowne on January 1, 1839, revealed some impatience on the part of various cabinet members at the delay due to Howick's failure to make up his mind. Duncannon, he said, was optimistic about Howick's acquiescence (probably in the arrangement concerning Canada), but meanwhile their supporters in the House of Commons were annoyed at being "neither informed nor consulted" about what the government's policy was to be.¹⁷

Part of the difficulty probably lay in the fact that in late 1838 and early 1839 Russell, overwhelmed by the death of his wife, was in retirement and threatening to withdraw altogether from public life. As his note cited above indicates, he had returned to his place by February and apparently drove through a rearrangement of the cabinet by which, on February 5, 1839, Glenelg was offered the office of Privy Seal.¹⁸ As problems of the Canadas

¹³*Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 383.

¹⁵Lansdowne Papers, Bowood, England, Minto to Lansdowne, Oct. 31, 1838.

¹⁶Stevenson Papers, MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Stevenson to Forsyth. Stevenson was on friendly terms with Durham.

¹⁷Lansdowne Papers, Holland to Lansdowne, Jan. 1, 1839.

¹⁸Broughton, *Recollections*, V, 175.

with which Glenelg had been dealing since he entered the Colonial Office were still in process of settlement, such a proposal was tantamount to asking Glenelg to agree that he had been wrong in his handling of this whole situation. Glenelg's response was immediate withdrawal from the cabinet. He announced his resignation February 5, 1839, and was succeeded by Lord Normanby.

There are too many statements from reliable contemporaries attesting Glenelg's long hours of work, his over-conscientious attention to details, and fastidiousness as to phraseology of dispatches, for one to take seriously the charges of indolence levelled at him. But it also seems quite probable that he gave the appearance of apathy and abstraction which unsympathetic colleagues would interpret as laziness. He appears to have given such an impression to some constituents even in the early days of his career, and also to acquaintances who had no reason to dislike him.¹⁹ It is easy to see that a kind of absent-mindedness, which hostesses had once found rather charming, could be very irritating to those who prided themselves on efficiency.²⁰ His complete lack of ambition, his absorption in such matters as education, the spread of religion, and the sound growth of democracy in the colonies left him without incentive to try to prove to critics, usually inadequately informed, that his office was functioning as effectively as circumstances permitted.²¹

Glenelg's insistence upon acting on principle must have been most annoying to a cabinet living almost from day to day and, therefore, frequently guided by expediency. Even in less difficult circumstances he had been known to hold up cabinet action be-

¹⁹Home Miscellaneous Series 735, Public Record Office, Sir John Malcolm to Major Stewart, Sept. 12, 1831; and Lord Broughton wrote, "Went on a visit to Windsor, Glenelg there. I had a pleasant talk with Madame Lehzen—late governess of Her Majesty. She kept up a lively fire upon Lord Glenelg, accusing him, half in fun, of being too lazy. That character did attach to Glenelg, but unjustly; he was not lazy; he was too scrupulous and critical as to what he wrote; and his cousin, my friend, Dr. Chambers, told me that he would get up early on a winter morning, light his own fire and sit down to write a dispatch" (*Recollections*, V, 97).

²⁰On January 17, 1830, Greville wrote, "The two Grants (Charles and Robert) are always together and both very forgetful and unpunctual. Somebody said if you asked Charles to dine with you at 6 on Monday, you were very likely to have Robert at 7 on Tuesday" (*Diary*, London, 1927, I, 35).

²¹On the floor of parliament, however, his answers to charges were definite and convincing. Greville's claim that he was terrified of Brougham is shown to be fatuous by Glenelg's reply to the speeches of the latter. Greville, on March 12, 1839, refers to Glenelg, whom at various earlier times he had called able and well informed, as "feeble and dastardly" but on February 21, 1840, he was "the amiable, honorable, and really able Glenelg" (Charles Cavendish Greville, *Memoirs, 1814-1860*, London, 1938, IV, 134, 247).

cause it would involve disregarding a principle with respect to a minor point.²²

He may toward the end have also given a handle to those who, assuming that he was lazy, accused him of neglect of his office, since, in the fall of 1838, he allowed himself to become quite distractred with grief at the death of his brother.²³

But granting these personal characteristics, his colleagues could have ascertained the truth respecting him and his work. It is to be feared that they were too anxious to stay in office to examine carefully the charges of the Radicals whom they were eager to conciliate; and it is altogether possible that the qualities that accompanied and in part accounted for Glenelg's failure to "impress" others—a high sense of duty and unwavering principles of conduct—made it safe and easy for them to force him out. It was safe because he was no Brougham; he would not turn against them and show up their weaknesses in the course of parliamentary debates. It was easy because he had not entered into political bargains or other "arrangements" and they, therefore, were not his debtors. Glenelg was not a statesman of the first rank but neither was he a dullard nor a laggard, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that Stephen was right when he wrote immediately after Glenelg's resignation: "His real and only unfitness for public life arises from the strange incompatibility of his temper and principles with the rules of action to which we erect shrines in Downing Street."²⁴

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²²Huskisson Papers 38755, British Museum, Letters between Grant and Huskisson, March 19 to 28, 1828. Mr. C. H. Philips in *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (Manchester, 1940), on pages 280-5, claims that Grant, while president of the Board of Control, involved the Company in unnecessary conflicts because of his exaggerated conception of justice.

²³Lansdowne Papers, Spring-Rice to Lansdowne, Oct. 18, and Lansdowne to Spring-Rice, Oct. 29, 1838.

²⁴Stephen to Mrs. Austin, Feb. 12, 1839, in *The Right Honorable Sir James Stephen: Letters with biographical notes by his daughter, Caroline Emelia* (Gloucester, 1906), 56.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER¹

IT is hard, even for an historian, to make very much of something that scarcely existed. In the public career of Sir George Etienne Cartier, there was plenty of political action, but very little political theory. Cartier was not the man to whom abstractions appealed. A person, he was wont to point out, might read twenty books on national policy, and remain a political blunderer. Hence, his own theorizings were highly realistic, and were usually in the character of rationalizations. He had a limited currency of strongly-held views which proceeded from the Canada East world he knew so well. Upon these, Cartier raised some guarded generalizations, as the flood of political fortune carried him from a local to a national figure. Among these were many repetitions, and some contradictions. The purpose of this paper is to sort out the principles on which Cartier acted, and to explore what may be dignified as his political philosophy.²

First of all, there was the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. From his old masters, the Sulpicians, Cartier got his earliest lessons in conservatism, that is, a respect for constituted authority, and, at the same time, a forward-looking view.³ As a politician, Cartier saw in the Church a great stabilizing force, teaching the virtues of tradition and obedience. Perhaps, too, he recognized a great propertied interest vitally concerned with the ordering of things as by law established. The alarming rise of the Canada East radicals ("... un certain nombre de jeunes gens qui s'appellent les rouges . . ."), brought Cartier and the Church into active conjunction. So there were discreet panegyrics on the clergy, and the Church was extolled as the bulwark of French-Canadian existence. Yet, to brand Cartier as a clerical, or as subservient to the priesthood, would be wide of the mark. The Church was part of the fibre of the province, and no public man could afford to be indifferent to her. Nor did Cartier lack critics among Catholics. During his life-time he was denounced as an enemy of denominational schools in Canada West,⁴ or was con-

¹A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Toronto, May 25-6, 1942.

²This study is based chiefly on Cartier's public pronouncements. A well-edited selection of his speeches was brought out by Joseph Tassee in 1893, and unless otherwise indicated, most of the citations in this paper have been taken from this source.

³O. Maurault, *Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal* (Montréal, 1918), 166.

⁴The True Witness, Montreal, July 25, 1856.

denmed because of his unholy alliance with George Brown,⁵ and after his death was suspected of being tainted with Gallicanism. It is a queer epitaph for one who is commonly described as the head and front of political Catholicism.

Fundamental was Cartier's reliance upon law, and upon the processes of law. This was, after all, understandable enough in a highly successful lawyer, but Cartier carried his admiration far beyond professional bounds. The law was a veritable framework of things, fixing as it did the place of the individual in society, and assuring him of the possession of certain rights. "Le Canada," he thought, "doit être un pays, non de licence, mais de liberté, et toutes les libertés doivent être protégées par la loi."⁶ But the law was something more; it was the guarantor of collective, or community, rights. Here the long-tried politician of the fifties and sixties spoke, ". . . dans un pays composé de races hétérogènes, professant des croyances différentes, il faut que tous les droits soient sauvegardés. . . ." It would be easy to multiply the proof-texts. The most elaborate discussion of them may be found in the Confederation debates, whence it is clear that Cartier believed that the only possible basis for provincial union lay in a balance of powers defined by law. The law became, in fact, a sort of perpetual safeguard, an unalterable contract, in Cartier's eyes. Hence, his care in sponsoring the Manitoba Act,⁷ which he appears to have thought would fix permanently the racial and religious groupings in the new province. Yet, the law could cut both ways. In the interminable discussion over the New Brunswick School Law in 1872, Cartier was resolutely opposed to disallowance by the Dominion government. ". . . la loi passée par le Nouveau Brunswick est constitutionnelle, . . . la Chambre doit rester dans les limites de la loi" Then followed the famous dictum that summed up the attitude and observation of a life-time, "lex dura est, sed lex."

Cartier's predisposition for law had its work-a-day aspects. He felt a keen concern in legal administration. In one of his rare moments of retrospection, Cartier claimed that of all the acts of his long public career that gave him the most satisfaction, the extension of the Civil Code to the Eastern Townships and the creation of new judicial districts, were among the chief.⁸ Whether

⁵MSS. Diary of George Edward Clerk: entries for midsummer, 1864.

⁶Joseph Tasse (ed.), *Discours de Sir Georges [sic] Etienne Cartier* (Montréal, 1893), 528.

⁷Canada, House of Commons, *Journals*, 1874, Appendix 6, pp. 16 ff.

⁸Tasse, *Discours de Cartier*, 511.

he shared Macdonald's high notions as to the political chastity of the Bench, it would be useless to enquire. Nevertheless, he selected his own nominees with care, ". . . bienque je reconnaisse que l'intérêt politique est généralement le mobile de ma conduite, . . . je ne me suis laissé influencer par aucune considération de ce genre lorsque j'ai fait ces nominations judiciaires" It was not an idle boast.

Fundamental, also, was Cartier's respect for property. It was not the thing itself, but the cast of mind it produced, that he so valued. ". . . l'homme qui a acquis des biens est généralement énergique, moral, . . . économe, industrieux, et honnête"⁹ The possession of property made a man replete with civic virtues, ". . . plus de stabilité, plus de jugement, moins de impétuosité" Contrarily, contempt of property rights was fraught with the most alarming consequences, ". . . le travail, existerait-il, s'il n'avait la propriété pour but . . . [et] . . . sans la propriété, pourrait-il exister une nationalité et une patrie?" Exactly, the health of the individual and the nation depended on property.

And what did Cartier understand by property? In the early fifties, he seems to have meant property in land. The most complete expression of this may be found in his curious eulogy on Duvernay (part of which has been quoted above), in which he insisted that the very existence of ordered society depended on land ownership. Once or twice, Cartier rose to almost mystic heights proclaiming the spiritual union of the individual and the soil.¹⁰ It was for this reason that Cartier disapproved of seigneurialism, for, standing as it did between the cultivator and the soil which he worked, it served to swell ". . . les doctrines socialistes et radicaux" At a later date, Cartier saw things more broadly. Property came to represent railways, stocks and bonds, warehouses and their contents, and so on. It is significant, that during the discussions on Confederation, Cartier was prepared to leave the determination of commercial law to the supreme authority of the central government. His enthusiasms made strange alliances. He was prepared to do battle on behalf of the Church of England to insure its control over the Clergy Reserves, not of course, "par conscience," but because the Church represented a propertied interest.

From these basic conceptions, it is possible to disentangle some of Cartier's theories on government. Parliamentary institutions, and cabinet responsibility, he accepted without question. Such

⁹*Ibid.*, 32. ¹⁰*Ibid.*, 65.

was the gist of his earliest recorded public pronouncement,¹¹ and he returned to it again and again. In the sixties, in a passage of great historical interest, Cartier asserted, ". . . si avant 1837, le gouvernement impérial avait concédé au Bas-Canada le régime de la responsabilité, il aurait évité les troubles malheureux de cette époque . . ."¹² While there may have been a note of personal apology in the statement, there was also a depth of conviction and experience. It was on behalf of parliamentary and cabinet government that Cartier took up the cudgels with the Annexationists in 1849, arguing with some ingenuity that, ". . . ces institutions sont suffisantes pour nous assurer . . . un remède prompt et efficace à tous les maux dont la Province puisse se plaindre . . ." The two things were inseparable in Cartier's mind, a parliament that was truly representative, and a cabinet responsible to it. That the cabinet should be the mainspring of the machine, Cartier had no doubt. ". . . the cabinet . . . should not be merely the reflex of public opinion, but should try to lead public opinion . . ."¹³ It sounds almost archaic; as much, indeed, as the motto Cartier once selected for a public man, "Tiens sa parole."

As for the form of the government, Cartier preferred a monarchy. It was in the best tradition of Canada East, for French Canadians were, as he so often said, of the Old, that is, of the Royal Régime.¹⁴ Monarchy represented two things. First of all, it stood for national dignity, and respect for principle. And here, Cartier liked to emphasize that his people were "plus monarchiste" than the Yankified denizens of Canada West. (Manifestly he never understood Toronto.) Secondly, monarchy was associated in his mind with stability in government, respect for property, a decent gradation in society, and so forth. It is not surprising that, ". . . la conservation du principe monarchique sera le grand caractère de notre confédération . . ." The Crown was both the symbol of, and the security against, popular government: ". . . nous vivons sous le régime monarchique . . . [et] . . . je crois que nous possédons le véritable système démocratique . . ." The United States provided the horrible example of what was likely to take place without the gentle restraint of monarchy: ". . . tous admettent que le gouvernement y est devenu impuissant par l'introduction du suffrage universel, . . . [et] . . . d'en autres termes que le pouvoir de la populace a supplanté l'autorité plus légitime . . ." And, he

¹¹*Times and Commercial Advertiser*, Montreal, April 7, 1843.

¹²Tasse, *Discours de Cartier*, 494.

¹³E. Whelan, *The Union of the British Provinces* (Charlottetown, 1865), 118.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 9.

added, a trifle unnecessarily, ". . . je suis opposé au système démocratique qui prévait aux Etats-Unis . . ."

Nor had Cartier any doubt as to how this royal orchid was to be sheltered in the harsh American world. An appointed Legislative Council was the chosen instrument. Cartier had a congenital weakness for upper houses, since it was there that maturity (and property) should be enthroned. Thirty-five was the golden age, and £1000 the golden mean: ". . . celui qui peut acquérir ce montant par son travail . . . saura bien économiser les deniers publics . . ." All this must have sounded a trifle odd from the lips of a professed Liberal of the early fifties. In the fullness of time, Quebec was provided with a Council on the approved model. When he was charged with extravagance, the luxury costing a mere \$60,000 or \$70,000, Cartier indignantly replied that economy should *never* stand in the way of principle.

Into the Confederation setting, Cartier's ideas fitted easily. From the beginning of his public career, he had been a warm defender of the local union of Lower and Upper Canada. He was so in the early forties, when he said his policy was, ". . . faire triompher le principe d'union . . .," and two decades later, he could still assert, ". . . ma politique [est] de faire fonctionner l'Acte d'Union . . ." So, the transition to the larger grouping of all British America came naturally. Nevertheless, one could wish that Cartier had been less abrupt when he explained his new position, ". . . lorsque je formai mon cabinet en 1858, j'adoptai le projet d'union de mon ami Galt . . ."

To the general discussion on federation, Cartier made a number of interesting contributions. He seems to have been one of the most unequivocal proponents of federal union. The most complete expression of his preference is to be found in the Canadian parliamentary debates on the Quebec Resolutions. Tradition has made Cartier the champion of local rights, and one account credits him with carrying his struggle to London itself.¹⁵ Much of this is probably legendary, as an examination of Cartier's attitude towards the provincial governments after 1867 reveals. He was, for example, a persistent defender of the "double mandate," and not infrequently ordered the sittings of the Quebec legislature to suit his Ottawa occasions.

Cartier had decided views, however, on the powers to be conferred on the central and local governments. He gave a pretty complete anticipation of it in his swing round the Maritimes in

¹⁵L. Groulx, *La Confédération canadienne* (Montréal, 1918), Appendix, 246-51.

the autumn of 1864. The chief cares of the provincial governments were ". . . les intérêts privés . . .," and other concerns where race, language, religion, or tradition, were closely touched. Cartier came back to the topic next year in the Confederation debates. The adjustment of local and central competence would guarantee, he pointed out, the vital interests of all. Thus, the rights of the commercial and religious minority in Canada East would be secured by the supervisory power of the Dominion government. In a like fashion, the rights of French Canadians were to be assured by the powers accorded the Quebec parliament. It is not to be supposed that this form of argument originated with Cartier; variations, as is well known, were employed by Galt and Sir John Rose. It is arresting, not so much for itself, but because it sums up two of Cartier's most cherished theories, that of a balance of powers, and, secondly, the supremacy of law.

Of much the same piece were Cartier's views on the subject of national unity. Too much a realist to entertain ideas on the fusion of races, he still believed that there was plenty of room for common loyalty, and common action. One of his favourite after-dinner prophecies in 1864 was that the new British-American state would be raised to the rank of a vice-royalty with one of the Queen's numerous progeny as its head. Later, and more enthusiastic elaborations of the theme show that Cartier had more in mind than outdoor relief for Princes of the Blood. The distinguished lineage of the viceroy would indicate the dignity of the new confederation, and its *de facto* autonomy. It would do more. It would weld into one supreme new loyalty, the older loyalties of the component parts. In his cooler moments, Cartier turned to less exalted means. A great programme of national development would join all British America in the bond of common endeavour. The idea was in germ in the fifties. It lay at the root of all Cartier's advocacy of railway and canal construction. In the Confederation era, Cartier came back to the notion again. Co-operation in a common task would produce a common, or national pride. Hence, the projects of the Intercolonial, or the Canadian Pacific had an importance beyond the strategic or the commercial. They formed what Cartier loved to call, ". . . les grandes œuvres nationales . . ." Hence, likewise, Cartier's insistence that the West should be the heritage of all Canada, not just the annex of Ontario.¹⁶

The national ideal meant much to Cartier. On the basis of the common loyalty and the common endeavour he was so fond of

¹⁶Tasse, *Discours de Cartier*, 566, 625.

enlarging, he seems to have been confident of national and sectional harmony. Like a good Montrealer, Cartier thought of the problem chiefly in terms of race and religion. Good policy demanded, he held, diminishing the grounds for possible conflict. A highly ingenious example he carried out locally by carefully distributing Montreal's parliamentary seats in order to give representation to its French, English, and Irish components.¹⁷ No doubt, because his own relations with English-speaking Canadians were generally satisfactory, he believed his experience could be made universal. In political terms Cartier owed a good deal to Anglo-Canadian support. In the early fifties, he was taken up by Low and Chamberlain of the *Gazette*, and sedulously groomed as the rising hope of the moderate Liberals. Then there was the close alliance with Alexander Galt, so close, in fact, that the Montreal *Witness* called them "the Siamese twins" of the Canada East political world. Finally, there was the better known association with Macdonald. Yet, it was entirely characteristic of Cartier that he should provide an example of, not a dissertation on, racial harmony.

Cartier's party predilections were tinged by his national aspirations. Keeping this in mind, it is not surprising that he entered public life in 1849 as a Liberal. Ten years later, when he had become a Conservative, Cartier claimed that he had made no sacrifice of fundamental principle. It was, he said, ". . . les vieux Tories . . . [qui] . . . ont mis l'eau dans leur vin . . .": Sir Allan MacNab had come to him, not he to Sir Allan MacNab. This is as it may be, but there is little doubt, that as the Canada East Conservative party took shape under his guidance, it perpetuated the broad national appeal of La Fontaine Liberalism. There were other survivals from the earlier period. Cartier disliked the term "Tory," and always spoke of himself as "Conservateur" or "Conservateur libéral." He saw no contradiction in the phrase. A Liberal-Conservative was one who cherished the lessons of the past, yet was prepared to amend them to the needs of the present. The later developments of Conservatism, with its emphasis on national expansion, with its policies favourable to railway building, and so on, all fitted into Cartier's general scheme. There was, therefore, more than hyperbole in Cartier's summary of his career in 1872, "Dans ma vie politique, je me suis efforcé de considérer le pays tout entier. J'ai eu pour but surtout d'élever notre politique au dessus des questions de localité . . ."¹⁸

¹⁷Ibid., 233. ¹⁸Ibid., 779.

There were, nevertheless, some curious blind spots. One may ransack Cartier's addresses in vain for any clear-cut expression of opinion on the tariff, or on fiscal matters. He attacked with equal sharpness the free trade doctrines of Cobden and Bright, and the high protection of the United States. Of course, few Canadians in the sixties had made up their minds with any degree of definition on these subjects, and Cartier's indecision probably no more than reflected a state of mind that was widespread. Less easy to explain, is his silence on Canada's relations with England, and with her empire. It is clear that Cartier considered Confederation and nationhood as synonymous terms, yet he never seems to have realized the change in attitudes maturity would bring about. Nor did he have much to say (of a constructive sort) on the relations of Canada and the United States. To Cartier, the United States was a menace, or at best, an example of what not to do. The larger American world was completely outside Cartier's ken. Odd as these omissions may appear, they serve to remind us of Cartier's limitations, and the extent to which he was a man of his age.

In all these very work-a-day theorizings, the personal element bulked large. Cartier was too busy to look for first causes, or to elaborate general principles. Situations were resolved promptly in terms of self, or of personal experience. Pugnacity, resolution, and ruthless efficiency saved Cartier from the laborious processes whereby other men come to decisions.¹⁹ His stock of general ideas was small. History, he thought, was the best of teachers, and the utility of history was in its political lessons.²⁰ For the rest, Cartier's ideas were drawn from a wide and not very critical currency. One's loyalty should be to one's people, but not to the degree of blinding one to the excellence of others: religion was the best guarantor of nationality, and so forth. Cartier had a good mind, but it was acute, rather than deep; constructive, rather than reflective.

This impression is borne out by an examination of the catalogue of Cartier's books.²¹ More than one-half was the conventional library of the professional man of strong public inclinations. The remainder, described somewhat generally, as "histoire, littérature, philosophie etc.,," was more arresting. The total number of books on political theory was surprisingly small. For the thinkers of the

¹⁹Public Archives of Canada, Macdonald Papers, General Correspondence, 1874-6
William Workman to J. A. M., no date. This is an excellent appraisal of Cartier, and what Workman calls, "his 'aut Caesar, aut nihil' manner."

²⁰Tasse, *Discours de Cartier*, 599.

²¹Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu Sir G.-E. Cartier, Bart. (Montreal, 1873).

eighteenth century, Cartier seems to have had little taste, if we except Montesquieu and Voltaire, the latter being represented by his *Lettres sur les Anglais*. It was in his own generation, or in the one immediately before, that his preferences chiefly lay. Accordingly, the political theorists of the Restoration, and of the July Monarchy were in high favour, Benjamin Constant, Chateaubriand, Lamennais, Guizot, and Thiers. Nor was it without point that among the books on the United States, Alexander Hamilton's *Federalist* should have a prominent place. Contrary to what might be expected, Cartier had comparatively few English works, barring the inevitable Macaulay. It would be uncritical, of course, to build too strongly on a library catalogue, yet the selection of books does indicate an attitude of mind. Perhaps we do not have to go further afield to discover the origin of Cartier's enthusiasm for *le juste milieu*, the balance of power, or his liking for "strong" government.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME HOCHELAGA

IN his *Lexique de la langue iroquoise* in discussing the word *osera* the Abbé Cuoq remarks: "osera signifie encore *Io. chausée de castor, et c'est de là que dérive le nom géographique d'Hochelaga, corruption de oserake, à la chausée de castor . . .*"¹ The late Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt of the Smithsonian Institute writes: "Hochelaga dialectic form of Hochelai, 'at the place of the [beaver] dam'."²

But there is another and more convincing derivation. A village on the slope of so outstanding an elevation as Montreal Mountain would almost certainly, in accordance with the descriptive character of Indian place-names, be named with reference to its situation. There is so far as I am aware no other example of an Indian village being named from a beaver dam; while the frequent occurrence of the root *onnonta*, "a mountain," in Indian place-names is remarkable.³

Since there is no "l" in the Huron-Iroquois languages Hochelaga is no doubt a corruption of *Hochehaga* or *Ochehaga*, and this in turn an abbreviated form of *Onnonchahaga* meaning, "mountain people." Charlevoix informs us that the original inhabitants of Montreal were called *Onnontcharonnons*.⁴ According to Bruyas the termination *-ronnon* and *-haga* are interchangeable in the sense "people of such and such a place."⁵ Substituting *-haga* for *-ronnon* and writing *Ononchahaga* in place of Charlevoix's *Onnontcharonnons* we have a word which can be analysed thus; *onnoncha* or *onnonchä*, augmented form in composition of the substantive *onnonta*, "a mountain";⁶ *-haga*, "people of." The disappearance of an initial syllable containing an "n" is not uncommon;⁷ that

¹Rev. J. A. Cuoq, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, *Lexique de la langue iroquoise* (Montreal, 1882), 36.

²J. N. B. Hewitt in *Handbook of Indians of Canada* (Geographic Board of Canada, Ottawa, 1913), 200.

³The name *Onnondaga* is a very close parallel; compare also *Ti-onnont-ate-hronnons*, *Ts-onnon-ouans*, *Eti-onnont-8t*, *Onnont8ie*, *Onnontate*.

⁴Rev. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (3 vols., Paris, 1744), III, 110-11.

⁵Rev. Jacques Bruyas S.J., *Radices Verborum Iroquacorum* (New York, 1862), 18.

⁶Cuoq, *Lexique de la langue iroquoise*, -*sra* [-*cha* in Huron]. Similarly augmented forms will be found in Potier, *Quaedam Substantiva, Radices Huronicae* (*Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1918-1919*, Toronto, 1920, 445-55).

⁷Compare *nonchiketo* and *otsiketo*, *negateka* and *onnegatek8a*, etc.

cha and in this case *ocha* may properly be regarded as the residuum of *onnonchā* is proved by Sagard's name for the Montagnais, *Cha-uironon* or *Cha-uhagueronon*.⁸

Although commonly employed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Huron-Iroquois tribes as a name for Montreal the word *Teiotiagi*⁹ is not so familiar. Cuoq maintains that the word means "a canal."¹⁰ Since the name was employed before there was a canal at Montreal this explanation is open to objection. Morgan cites a modern Mohawk variant *Do-te-â-ga* with the meaning "almost broken."¹¹ Potier, however, on page 104 of his *Radices Huronicae* (page 264 of the reprint) under the root *k8-atiaj*, *se rompre en 2*, cites this name for Montreal as a derivative, and it may be implied that Potier thought that the meaning was "where the river divides."¹² Since the root *qiaj* both in Huron and Iroquois is frequently used in the sense "to traverse" or "to pass" (both of place and time) and also in connection with portages, this interpretation may be questioned.¹³ However Sagard's name for the Saguenay, *Kyokiayé*¹⁴ is identical ("k" frequently replacing "t"); and the meaning "where the river divides" would be as descriptive of the mouth of the Saguenay as it is of the juncture of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence at Montreal.

The Algonquin tribes do not seem to have employed any name for Montreal of their own; they did their best to pronounce the French word, although they had no "r" in their language; even today the Crees speak of a Canadian as *Moniyaweyinew*, "a Montreal man," and the Ojibway word for Canada is *Moniah*.¹⁵

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Aurora, Ontario.

⁸Gabriel Sagard Theodat, *Histoire du Canada* (4 vols., Paris, 1636), IV, 82, *dictionnaire*.

⁹Variant spellings: *te hotiagi*, *Teohiahi*, *Tiohtiaki*, *Tiotiaki*, etc.

¹⁰Cuoq, *Lexique de la langue française*, 43.

¹¹Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee* (Rochester, 1851), 474.

¹²*Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1918-1919*.

¹³Cuoq, *Lexique de la langue française*, sub root *ikiaks*, p. 88-9; Bruyas, *Radices Verborum Iroquaeorum*, sub root *gaiagon*, p. 57; Potier, manuscript in the Municipal Library, Montreal, p. 212, *8ahiaj̄ oiaj̄ vel tioiaj̄ portage de oiaq̄* [portage at Portage River near Port Clinton, Lake Erie]. The cedilla has been used above in place of the iota subscript.

¹⁴Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, IV, *dictionnaire*, p. 83.

¹⁵Rev. E. A. Watkins and Ven. R. Faries, *A Dictionary of the Cree Language* (Toronto, 1938), 34; *A Concise Dictionary of the Ojibway Language* (International Colportage Mission, Toronto, 1903), 15.

**NOVA SCOTIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE CANADIAN RELIEF FUND
IN THE WAR OF 1812**

IN view of "the distresses of their fellow Subjects in many parts of Upper Canada," the Nova Scotian Assembly in March, 1814, voted "the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds towards their relief. . . ." As Nova Scotia's ordinary revenue had been less than £26,000 in 1813, this amount was not inconsiderable. Nevertheless, the province could well afford the gift out of the money raised for war purposes and but partially spent.¹

What with "gentlemen's agreements" not to molest one another, friendly visits back and forth between relatives and friends and businessmen, and a thriving trade that under the protection of British warships defied all the Federal cruisers, the burden of war rested lightly on the people of the Maritime Provinces and New England. The fighting was left largely to the British, who met with little resistance in 1814 when they invaded the northern coast of Massachusetts (now Maine). Local privateersmen on both sides sailed the seas and sometimes made a landing but always in the spirit of adventure and in the hope of personal profit. Even the Royal Navy, in the face of the protests of Nova Scotians against impressments, was forced to offer the same attractions. Who could have resisted the following advertisement inserted in the Halifax *Acadian Recorder* (February 20, 1813), by Captain Pascos of the 18-gun *Tartarus*?

NOW OR NEVER

All able bodied SEAMEN and sturdy LANDSMEN, willing to serve His Majesty, and enrich themselves; are invited forthwith to enter for His Majesty's ship TARTARUS, Captain John Pascos, fitting with all expedition to take *more* American Indiamen; she will be ready for sea in a few days Those fond of pumping and hard work had better not apply—the *Tartarus* is as tight as a bottle: sails like a witch—scuds like a Mudian, and lays to like a Gannet—has one deck to sleep under and another to dine on—Dry Hammocks, regular meals, and plenty of Grog—the main brace always spliced when it rains or blows hard—A few months more cruising, just to enable her brave Crew to get Yankee Dollars enough to make them marry their sweethearts, buy farms and live snug during the Peace that is now close aboard of us.

His Majesty's and Provincial Bounties

Able Seamen	£10. 5. 0.
Ordinary	2. 10. 0.
Landsmen	1. 10. 0.

Halifax Feb 16th 1813

GOD SAVE THE KING

¹J. S. Martell, *A Documentary Study of Provincial Finance and Currency, 1812-36* (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, II (4), 1941, 73 pp.).

This light-hearted attitude and the easily gotten gains annoyed some Nova Scotians when they thought of the troubles that had come to the Upper Canadians. Writing to the *Acadian Recorder* on April 1, 1814,² a correspondent in Cornwallis gave full vent to his feelings:

Happy state of Nova-Scotia! amongst all this tumult we have lived in peace and security; invaded only by a numerous host of American doubloons and dollars, which have swept away the contents of our stores and shops like a torrent; and from which a detachment occupies our very treasury in great force. Our farmers have felt no other effects of war but that hay sells for ten or twelve pounds a ton, turkeys for ten shillings a piece, and beef and mutton for ten pence, or a shilling per pound. —Long may my country enjoy such prosperity. But in the midst of it she should think of her suffering brethren who are fighting her battles. What have we done for the common cause—why nothing—to our shame, absolutely nothing.

Whilst our fellow subjects in the sister provinces were bleeding, their houses burned, and their wives and children in need of food and raiment we were amusing ourselves with fine speeches about civilizing Indians, with Bible Societies, and Acadian Societies, and Billingsgate controversies about all these.

I hope, Sir, that I duly reverence religion and love charity, but I am clearly of opinion that all genuine charity begins at home, and that the wives and children of the men who died fighting for us have a greater claim upon us for bread, than the people of the East Indies have for Bibles. Six months after the merchants of London sent their contributions, and after the West Indies Islands have sent their's, at last we of Nova-Scotia remember that there are sufferers in Canada; for by the papers of last week I see, and see with pleasure, that our Legislature has voted a sum of money for their relief.

The following documents tell how the Canadians spent the money.³

J. S. MARTELL

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

I

Copy

Castle of St. Lewis,
Quebec 21st August 1815

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency, the copy of a report which has just reached me from the Gentlemen who were appointed by me a Committee to distribute the £2,500. So generously granted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, for the relief of the Sufferers (by the late War,) in Upper Canada, and more particularly of the town of Newark, which was wantonly destroyed by the Enemy.

²The letter was published in the *Acadian Recorder* of May 14.

³Public Archives of Nova Scotia, vol. 288, docs. 113-16.

In confidence that this account of the distribution of the donation will prove Satisfactory to the liberal Benefactors.

I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Your Excellency's, most obedient

His Excellency
Sir J. C. Sherbrooke
K.G: C.B: &c.&c.&c.

and very faithful Servant
(Sign'd) Gordon Drummond

II

Copy
Sir,

Kingston, 8th August 1815

I request you will submit for the information of His Excellency Sir Gordon Drummond the enclosed report of the Trustees for distributing the grant of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, for the relief of Sufferers by the ravages of the Enemy in this province, and the accompanying paper which I have just received from the Honorable Chief Justice Scott.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, Humble Servant
(Sign'd) F. P. Robinson
Maj: Gen^l. Comm^g.

III

Copy

Minute of the proceedings of the Trustees appointed by Lt. General Drummond, President administering the Government of Upper Canada to distribute the Nova Scotia Benevolence to the Sufferers in that province.

1814

May 12th Received communication of the Vote of the Nova Scotia Legislature, and arrangement for the transmission of the Fund - - Accepted the trust, and notified such acceptance to the President.

17th Wrote circular letters into the several districts for information on the Subject.

June

The Judges received information of the particular Case of Mr Symington's family, and drew in their behalf on the Revd Dr. Strachan for fifty pounds.

July 26th

Transferred this Sum to the credit of the Loyal and Patriotic Society from inability to procure the Money transmitted from Nova Scotia.—

1815

March 16th The Sum of two thousand five hundred pounds being received this day by Dr. Strachan and the Loyal and Patriotic Fund having hitherto afforded relief to the distress represented. Resolved to visit the Frontier and Seek out Subjects of this benevolence and to apply it to relief of the Sufferers by the Conflagration of Newark, and the houses on the line to Fort Erie.

April

Mr. Justice Campbell's attendance at the Easter Term being prevented by indisposition, and the same cause continuing his absence from York, communicated to him the intention to visit the Frontier in person, and on receiving his approbation of the measure requested Mr. Dickson and the Revd Mr. Addison, who had been agents for the

distribution of the Loyal and Patriotic Fund in that district, to ascertain the names of Sufferers at Newark and on the Line to Fort Erie, and to announce the day when the money could be distributed.

- June 20th Left York, and on the 22nd arrived at Stanford
 23rd procured returns of Houses burned at Newark in the Line to Fort Erie, and in the village of St. David's.
 24th Deliberated on the means of giving the best effect to the liberality of the Sister Province. After canvassing various propositions for the distribution, agreed to limit it to the Town of Newark and the Line to Fort Erie, and as we formed a Board of Directors to the Loyal and Patriotic Society, and had at our disposal the Sum of £2000. of their funds for this district decided to relieve the Sufferers at St. David's from it.
 Agreed to abstract from the list for relief all Such as upon good information would receive no essential benefit from the partial relief the fund could afford.
 25th Call'd to our Assistance Col. Dickson and the Revd Mr. Addison, Mr. Sweeny, and Mr Cleach to estimate the value of the buildings and the relative circumstances of the Sufferers.
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|-------------|---------|
| The Houses burned in Newark were in | | | |
| Number | 80 Dwelling Houses..... | Value | £30,520 |
| On the line | 18 | | 6,050 |
| | 98 | 36,570 stg. | |
| | Abstracted, the Proprietors not Suppos'd in distress | | 22,525 |

The money distributed among the remainder
 whose Houses valued..... 14,045
 (Barns, Stables &c and all buildings not used for dwelling
 Houses omitted.)

Canvassed the several propositions for distribution. Viz: by an equal per Centage on the average of the whole loss, So that all would receive Something, and estimating the greatest loss by the lowest value thus to augment the proportion in favor of the most distressed without varying the Sum. Upon this proposition, otherwise satisfactory it was found that some would receive more than their whole loss, and a rateable proportion was adopted, diminishing as the Sum of Loss increased, and upon this principle the Sum of two thousand and five hundred and fifty nine pounds, eighteen Shillings and fourpence $\frac{3}{4}$ was distributed exceeding the principal and Interest of the Sum received, as per Schedule hereunto annexed. the Excess being furnished from the Loyal and Patriotic Society.

As from some cause no direct application was made to the Trustees, the Sum appropriated for each Sufferer was notified to the Individual by a Circular letter a Copy of which is annexed.

Stanford 28th June 1815.

Sign'd, Thomas Scott
 Wm Dummer Powell
 John Strachan

A true Copy
 (Sign'd) Robert R. Loring
 Secretary

NB:

The Circular Letter stated to have been annexed was not received with the minute of the proceedings.

By Order,
 (Sign'd) Robt. R. Loring
 Secretary

IV

List of Sufferers on the Niagara Frontier, from the Conflagration of their Houses by the Enemy considered by the Trustees as having claim on the Nova Scotia fund to the amount against their names.

Names	Estimated Loss of the Buildings	Sums Distributed to each
Revd Mr. Burns	60	30
John McKay	60	30
James Finling	50	25
Estate of Colin McNabb	50	25
Joseph Adlam	25	12 10
	245	122. 10
Michl Billingen	125	41 13 4
Martin McClellan	100	33 6 8
Cast Cerus [?]	125	41 13 4
David Hastman	100	33 6 8
John Sanders	100	33 6 8
Ralph Clench	150	50
Saml Capedy	150	50
Mrs. Wright	150	50
Mrs. Bradshaw	150	50
	1150	333. 6. 8
George Law	200	54
Ganet Hingerland	200	54
John Munroe	200	54
Henry Front	200	54
	800	216
Thomas Butler	250	55 11 1½
Jas. Clarke Senr.	250	55 11 1½
	500	111. 2. 2½
Mrs. Fry	300	60
Mrs. McBride	300	60
Mr. Jno. Muirhead	300	60
Thomas Lundy	300	60
	1200	240
Estate of Majr. Campbell	350	63 12 8½
Francis Waddle	350	63 12 8½
	700	127 5. 5.

John Symington	400	66 13 4	
James Clarke	400	66 13 4	
Chs. Gosseau	400	66 13 4	
Christain Ricely	400	66 13 4	
Alex. Douglass	400	66 13 4	
	2000		333. 6. 8.
Henry Warren	450	69 4 7¼	
	450		69 4. 7½
Mrs. Elizh Thompson	500	71 8 6¾	
Dr. Muirhead	500	71 8 6¾	
Mrs. Stewart	500	71 8 6¾	
Joseph Edwards	500	71 8 6¾	
Mrs. Hill	500	71 8 6¾	
	2500		357. 2. 9¾
Alexr. McKee	600	80	
Alexr. Douglass	600	80	
Docr. Kerr	650	86 13 4	
Widow Innes	650	86 13 4	
Widow Fields	750	100	
Thomas Powis	1250	166 13 4	
	4500		600
Total	14,015		2559. 18. 4¾
March 16th: 1815			
By the Nova Scotia Fund		2500	
By Interest on Do while in the hands of the			
Commissioners. £950 only being in Army			
Bills bearing Int.		16 9	
Donation fm the Loyal & Patriotic Socy		43 9 4¾	
			2559. 18. 4¾

Errors Excepted
 (Sign'd) John Strachan
 Treasurer

Stanford, near
 Niagara 28th June 1815

A true Copy
 Sign'd Robt R. Loring
 Secretary

A true Copy carefully compared
 Henry H. Cogswell D Secy [Deputy Provincial
 Secretary of Nova Scotia]

GRADUATE THESES IN CANADIAN HISTORY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW presents herewith its sixteenth annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's imperial and external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from over a hundred universities throughout the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- J. H. AITCHISON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1928; B.Sc. London 1935. Municipal government in Ontario. *Toronto*.
- RICHARD C. BAKER, A.B. Harvard 1926; A.M. Cornell 1927; Ph.D. Columbia 1941. The tariff under Roosevelt and Taft. *Columbia*.
- HENRY BRODIE, B.S. 1937; A.M. New York 1940. Selective price control in Canada during World War II. *New York*.
- GERALD SAXON BROWN, B.A. Acadia 1932; M.A. 1937. Lord George Germain: Colonial Secretary. *Minnesota*.
- W. K. BRYDEN, B.A. Toronto 1937; B.A. Oxford 1939; M.A. Toronto 1940. Development of wholesale trade in Toronto. *Toronto*.
- FRANKLIN W. BURTON, B.A. Toronto 1930; A.M. Harvard 1933. The Canadian grain trade. *Toronto*.
- G. F. BUTLER, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1934. Commercial relations between the United States and the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JOHN DUNCAN CAMERON, B.A. Manitoba 1909; M.A. Toronto 1935. The law relating to immigration, 1867-1935. *Toronto* (Law).
- MARY DUNCAN CARTER, Ph.B. Chicago 1917; B.L.S. New York State Library School 1923; Ph.D. Chicago 1942. A survey of Montreal library facilities and a proposed plan for a library system. *Chicago*.
- CATHERINE L. CLEVERDON, A.B. Vassar 1929; A.M. Columbia 1930. The woman suffrage movement in Canada. *Columbia*.
- GLENN H. CRAIG, B.A. Alberta 1930; M.A. McGill 1933. Land utilization in the arid plains of Western Canada. *Harvard*.
- JESSE S. DOUGLAS, B.A. Oregon 1931; M.A. 1932. U.S. military posts in the Oregon Territory, 1846-98. *Minnesota*.
- ALLEN R. FOLEY, A.B. Dartmouth 1920; A.M. Wisconsin 1924. From French-Canadian to Franco-American. *Harvard*.
- E. A. FORSEY, B.A. McGill 1925; M.A. 1926; B.A. Oxford 1928; M.A. 1932; Ph.D. McGill 1941. The royal power of dissolution of Parliament in the British Commonwealth. *McGill*. Published by Oxford University Press, autumn 1942.
- ESTHER FRUMHARTZ, B.A. Toronto 1937; M.A. 1938. Political aspects of the Canadian tariff, 1867-1911. *Toronto*.
- GEORGE B. GARDINER, Jr., Ph.B. Vermont 1937; A.M. Harvard 1940. North American government: A study of Canadian-American relations during World War II. *Harvard*.
- LILLIAN F. GATES, B.A. British Columbia 1924; A.M. Clark 1926; A.M. Radcliffe 1930. Canadian land policy, 1837-67. *Radcliffe*.
- JEAN-MARIE GAUVREAU, Diplôme de l'Ecole Boulle, Paris. L'organisation de l'artisanat dans la province de Québec. *Montréal* (Ecole des Sciences sociales, économiques et politiques).

- MAYNARD GERTLER, B.A. Queen's 1939. Problems of Canadian industrial organization. *Columbia*.
- Mrs. SHIRLEY SAUL GORDON, B.A. Toronto 1920; M.A. 1936. Canadian public opinion on the Dominion's external relations. *Toronto*.
- ERNEST C. GOULD, B.A. Toronto 1933; M.A. 1934. The Canadian and Maritime approach to Confederation: A study in contrasts. *Toronto*.
- J. E. L. GRAHAM, B.A. Toronto 1936; B.A. Oxford 1938; B.Lit. Oxford 1939. Basis of Canadian international exchange. *Toronto*.
- KENNETH G. HAMILTON, A.B. Moravian 1912; B.D. Moravian Theol. Sem. 1914; Ph.D. Columbia 1941. John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary period. *Columbia*.
- EDWIN HUGHES, A.B. Williams 1919; A.M. 1934. The Ontario hydro-electric development. *Columbia*.
- WILLARD E. IRELAND, B.A. British Columbia 1933; M.A. Toronto 1935. British Columbia and British-American union. *Toronto*.
- L. B. JACK, B.A. British Columbia 1932; M.A. California 1935; B.A. Oxford 1935. Control of municipal finance in three federal countries: Canada, U.S.A., Australia. *McGill*.
- JOHN HOPKINS KENNEDY, A.B. Princeton 1937; Ph.D. Yale 1942. New France and the European conscience. Part I. The matter of New France. *Yale*.
- MURRAY GRANT LAWSON, B.A. Toronto 1936; M.A. 1938; Ph.D. California 1942. Fur: A study in English mercantilism, 1700-75. *California*.
- JOHN WILLIAM LEDERLE, A.B. Michigan 1933; A.M. 1934; LL.B. 1936. The national organization of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada. *Michigan*.
- ANDREW D. LOCKHART, B.A. Queen's 1930; M.A. 1931. Macdonald and the policy of the Conservative party. *Toronto*.
- Mrs. DOROTHY E. LONG, B.A. Toronto 1923; M.A. 1931; Ph.D. 1941. Edward Ellice. *Toronto*.
- ALICE J. E. LUNN, B.A. McGill 1932; M.A. 1934. Economic and social development in New France, 1713-60. *McGill*.
- J. O. McCABE, Ph.D. Glasgow 1941. Great Britain and the evolution of the western part of the international boundary of Canada. *Glasgow*.
- RUTH A. MCINTYRE, A.B. Mount Holyoke 1936; M.A. 1937. The promotion of English colonization and trading companies, 1600-30. *Minnesota*.
- W. O. MULLIGAN, B.A. Manitoba 1913; M.A. Dalhousie 1914; LL.B. Manitoba 1916; B.D. 1917; D.D. (honorary) Presbyterian College of Montreal 1938. The public career of Sir Charles Bagot. *McGill*.
- Gwendoline NEUENDORFF, B.A. Cape Town 1927; M.A. 1928; Ph.D. London 1941. Studies in the evolution of dominion status: (i) The Governor-Generalship of Canada; (ii) The development of Canadian nationalism. *London*. Published by Oxford University Press, autumn, 1942.
- J. R. PETRIE, B.A. New Brunswick 1930; M.A. 1932; Ph.D. 1941. The tax systems of Canada. *McGill*.
- ELDON P. RAY, B.A. Dalhousie 1932; M.A. 1933. Nova Scotia, 1840-64. *Toronto*.
- R. G. ROBERTSON, B.A. Saskatchewan 1938; B.A. Oxford 1940. The Canadian House of Commons. *Toronto*.
- R. K. ROSS, LL.B. Toronto 1937. Municipal by-laws in Ontario. *Toronto* (Law).
- ROSEMARY LORNA SAVAGE, B.A. Toronto 1937; A.M. Columbia 1940. American expansionism in Canadian-American relations. *Columbia*.
- M. O. SHUMIATCHER, B.A. Alberta 1940; LL.B. Alberta 1941. Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act. *Toronto* (Law).
- Mrs. IRENE M. SPRY, B.A. Cambridge 1928; A.M. Bryn Mawr 1929. The development of electrical power in Canada. *Toronto*.
- J. M. THOMAS, B.A. Manitoba 1925; M.A. 1926; B.Paed. Toronto 1934; D.Paed. 1942. A study of teachers' pensions schemes in Canada. *Toronto*.
- LEWIS G. THOMAS, B.A. Alberta 1934; M.A. 1935. Political and economic history of Alberta, 1905-21. *Harvard*.
- HOWARD A. VERNON, A.B. Chicago 1937; A.M. 1940. A history of the attitudes of the French Canadian towards annexation to the United States. *Chicago*.
- CLAYTON R. WATTS, B.A. Western Ontario 1932; M.A. Drew 1932. Study of Mennonite communities in Western Ontario. *Washington University*.
- F. J. WESTCOTT, B.A. Brandon 1925. The tariff in the Canadian economy. *Toronto*.

- L. WHITE, B.A. Queen's 1920; M.A. Columbia; B. Paed. Toronto 1923; D. Paed. 1942. Some aspects of commercial law in Ontario secondary schools. *Toronto*.
 HAROLD DOUGLAS WOODS, B.A. New Brunswick 1930; M.A. Montreal 1931. An investigation of the forest and allied industries of Canada with the object of throwing some light on the problem of conservation of raw materials. *Toronto*.
 ANNA M. WRIGHT, B.A. Toronto 1931; M.A. Queen's 1940. The frontier of "Canada," 1840-67. *Toronto*.

Theses for the Master's Degree

- D. C. ADAMS, B.A. Alberta 1936. A history of the Manville District. *Alberta*.
 Sister ANNA JOSEPH (Mary Genevieve Hennessey), B.A. New Brunswick 1942. The history and culture of the Indians of New Brunswick. *New Brunswick*.
 H. T. ARMEDDING, A.B. Wheaton 1941. The Halibut Treaty of 1923 between Canada and the United States. *Clark*.
 KENNETH ARTHUR BATTERSKY, B.A. Clark 1932. Land use and economy of Prince Edward Island. *Clark*.
 R. N. BEATTIE, B.A. British Columbia 1939. British investments in British North America, 1857-70. *Toronto*.
 MARY E. BELL, A.B. 1924 Mount Holyoke. Great Britain's financial policies relating to foreign exchange markets in war financing. *New York*.
 Sister BERNADETTE (Catherine Alberta O'Hara), B.A. New Brunswick 1940. The decline and fall of the Huron Confederacy. *New Brunswick*.
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REVIEW ARTICLES

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN NEW BOOKS AND NEW LIGHT¹

OF books on the American Revolution there is no end. It would seem that a knowledge of the import and drama of the era was at last clothed in the garments of finality. But change is one of the rights of men and the law of impermanence applies equally to a knowledge of the past as to pulsing life itself. Knowledge grows from more to more as sources almost inexhaustible are discovered to employ the mind and patience of the historian. The Clements Library at Ann Arbor, the Huntington at San Marino, the Congressional Library, and many other rich store-houses have provided in recent years an amazing wealth of new historical sources beckoning the faithful and serious students. The several volumes before us and others of late date bear ample witness to the welcome fact that unexploited sources cast the Revolution in new life and light. They come to fill niches long neglected in the structure of the Revolution.

There are fashions in the domain of historiography. "There is in every age," to borrow the truism of a wise scholar, "a certain response in the world of thought to the dominant social forces." When the colonists succeeded in cutting the old British Empire apart, and the United States turned to the forging of a new nation, American historians, imbued with youthful patriotic fervour, turned to the task of explaining America chiefly in terms of America. As the nineteenth century wore to a close, great nations, having realized a status of internal equilibrium, spent their gathering energies in a career of imperial expansion and historians turned to an explanation of the colonial era from the imperial vantage point. The currents of time and thought tilted the historical balance too far one way and then another. Two points of view must be borne in mind in describing the old Empire. On the imperial side the colonies and metropolis were so closely united by an identity of interests that both were reluctant to break the bond. On the local side, the separation by the judgment of the sword came in response to the dictates of divergent and independent evolutions. Each side developed in harmony with its own peculiar needs and temper and their pathways crossed in tragedy.

So heavy has been the emphasis upon the imperial aspect of the Revolution that until lately the bitter schisms in colonial society suffered eclipse. The vertical clash with Britain was accompanied by a horizontal conflict within colonial society. The Americans showed no desire to snap the imperial tie until goaded to the fateful decision of July 4. They did not arise in one glorious crusade against arbitrary British rule. They divided and clashed over the question of the basis of rule at home. The issue was the outgrowth of distinctly American conditions, which produced a growing antagonism between a privileged ruling aristocracy and a multitude of unprivileged on farms and in cities. The struggle to democratize American society reached a dramatic conclusion in the very years when the colonists violently resented the British menace to American autonomy. Only when one understands wherein the American and imperial issues were joined, can one know the complex nature of the Revolution. These new studies bear ample witness to the Revolution as a dual movement.

¹For the bibliography of this article, see p. 315.

Time works its changes in historical methods and values. The scientific method applied to the study of history advanced from a tentative stage to the zenith of supremacy. The skilful use of this tool brought gain and loss. The historian became a tireless digger of facts, garnering them in huge array, marshalling them in accuracy and impartiality. But in the process, content and literary quality were divorced and the human factor was lost under the heavy shadow of accumulated facts. Something more than method and the cataloguing of concrete items go to the making of history yielding the best dividends. Upon the historian rests the obligation to divine the inner intangible forces of men which give the breath of life to the human drama. The recognition of personality, a sense of the dramatic, breadth of vision, and controlled imagination form the cornerstone in the building of a worthy edifice of history. These books are evidence that nothing is lost in the fullness and accuracy of the facts and much gained in the union of content and style. Through these pages men run the gamut of behaviour in all its infinite varieties.

The gun and drum history of the Revolution has enjoyed a great day but the psychology of the times has been long neglected. Mr. Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution* goes far to close the gap. Clarity and breadth of treatment go to the telling of the British ventures to crumble the American cause by insidious devices carried on *pari passu* with open warfare. The story in all its drama is founded upon new and important sources. The times were peculiarly ripe for an appeal to the frailties of human nature. Winds of fierce velocity lashed and cut the sails of American society, and stirred angrily to the depth the elemental passions of men. Fixed and determined stood a minority in the American cause, while another minority, equally determined, remained loyal to the Empire. Patriot and Loyalist gave no quarter, asked none, and the civil war was all the more cruel where men once mingled as neighbours. The times that tried men's souls came after the flush of 1776; and, when days were darkest and the issue most doubtful, timid souls hearkened to British appeasement or accepted British pardons. The neutral, crying a plague on both houses, were answered by cruelty from both embattled sides. The uncouth and the indifferent sold provisions to both armies, preferring good British sterling to debased American paper. Desertions from one army to another were not uncommon. Under the gentle cloak of patriotism damaged souls sold information to the British, crooked souls profiteered upon war's necessities. Mr. Van Doren has woven with skill, patience, and dramatic effect the tangled threads of plot and sub-plot, the tortuous path of intrigue and seduction, into a detailed and coherent pattern. At times one gets a bit lost in following a mass of detail along the labyrinthine path of plot within plot. British bribery in America simply followed a practice usual in British politics and was abetted by the Loyalists who, counting themselves a majority, held in contempt the patriots as people of mean estate easily open to seduction. Neither British nor Loyalist could understand that the American cause was not to be taken lightly in numbers, ability, or devotion. Efforts to entice Ethan Allen, Schuyler, Putnam, Sullivan, and others proved abortive. British ventures in appeasement met rejection.

A lion's share of attention goes to Benedict Arnold, not because he is the first or last of many Iscariots, but the greatest. His plot was the most infamous, the consequences most pathetic, and the records the fullest. Stripped of mawkish sentiment, he was not, like Saul, suddenly converted from false gods to true allegiance or else provoked to desperation by cruel treatment. As a military leader he was courageous and efficient and liked by the rank of soldiery. His troubles

lay within him. Impulsive, egocentric, he considered himself the injured innocent always beset by villains. He lacked tact in dealing with public men and fellow officers. Fondness for money led him into shady speculations and twisted financial records brought him under suspicion. Treason was business, and good business, as he offered to transfer strategic West Point to the British for a generous sum. The plot failed but Arnold got his gold and commission. The Iago of the Revolution was despised in his day and stands reviled in history for what he was.

Dr. Boyd's brief study of Joseph Galloway, *Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire, 1774-1788*, is an essay on the futility and tragedy of ultraconservatism. His career predicates the enduring problem of reverence for the past as crystallized in institutions of privilege and authority. Devotion to an old order alone is a fatal means of solving human problems. A conservative by temperament and social position, Galloway's mind was confined within the walls of the past. Yet to him goes certain credit as a provincial leader and imperial statesman. As a leader in the contest for home rule in Pennsylvania, his genius was in harmony with the best interests of colony and empire. He was no friend to democracy, for to him home rule meant control by the affluent and well-born. Amid the troubled relations with Britain he saw that the imperial problem must be brought to the touchstone of a constructive formula. His plan of union submitted to Congress in 1774 had good precedent in the plan drafted at Albany in 1754. Both plans envisaged the problem of equipping the colonies with an American government to deal with business distinctly American in scope and nature. A set of interests had emerged transcending provincial boundaries which could no longer be left to the care of separate and jealous colonies nor be trusted to distant rulers lacking an adequate knowledge of American realities. History confirmed his plan, for it presaged the order of Dominion government later to prevail in a new empire. Serious defects marred his efforts. By 1774 hope of compromise faded as passion swept away reason and threw Galloway's plan into the discard. Further, his plan made no provision to satisfy the rising tide of democracy. He looked with contempt upon the radicals as a shabby lot of agitators, debtors, riff-raff, oblivious of the fact that many men of talents and respectability joined the revolutionary cause. He associated only with those whose minds harmonized with his or leaned upon the ineptitude of the British government. Exiled in England, his emotions became more acid, his mind more confirmed, as age and adversity crept upon him. Relentless war and the imposition of an iron rule were the themes of later plans. One may admire the "noble stubbornness" of the man, his willingness to suffer for the sake of conviction, but sincerity without a knowledge of realities and a sound judgment is a doubtful compliment. Dr. Boyd's study is mature, contemplative, and dressed in graceful literary garments.

Mr. Brown's study, *Empire or Independence*, brings the answer that it could be nothing less than independence decided by the judgment of the sword. The author is concerned with that perennial and baffling problem, the defining of the line between autonomy in the several political parts and presiding power at the centre. The Seven Years' War had revealed serious fissures in a highly decentralized structure of empire, and British leaders met the challenge by strengthening the imperial arm, only to face the angry resentment of the colonies at the contraction of their freedom. At once the imperial relationship, which had been fashioned almost imperceptibly, was placed under intense scrutiny only to uncover a divergence of view with no bridge of charity to unite opposing groups. The

burden of initiating a plan to overcome clashing differences lay upon the British lap, but steeped in the arrogance of power, with eyes blind to the fact that the colonies had matured into statehood, the imperial rulers clung to the theory that the colonies were colonies and nothing more. Mr. Brown thinks that there was little merit in the colonial plea for a return to relationships that prevailed prior to 1763. We incline to the thought that a recognition of a long evolution sanctioned by time formed a reasonable basis of discussion. True, the old relationship could no longer be left to mere understanding, but would have to be nicely defined in the lines of a written organic law. But ministry and parliament hearkened not to the pleas and plans of the colonists who understood the genius of the Empire better than the lords of power in London. British rulers followed no policy based on intelligence and reason, but provoked the colonies to irritation by a hodge-podge of restrictive laws and consequent repeals, of coercion mixed with appeasement, all based upon the shifting sands of expediency, and thus broke the Empire they wished to save.

Mr. Brown does not embrace all the plans proposed, but limits his study to the conciliatory offer of Lord North, the Howe Commission of 1776, and the Carlisle Commission of 1778. The North plan carried to the colonies by the Howe brothers showed no change in the British heart and offered no solution which went to the core of the problem. The menace of parliamentary taxation remained, and the colonial leaders rejected the proposal. The voice of Britain was drowned in the bellicose cry of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, whose arguments for independence went to the heart of America. The Carlisle Commission, bearing generous concessions to forestall the danger of a Franco-American alliance, came a decade too late. News of the alliance anticipated the arrival of the British mission and took the wind out of the Carlisle sails. A turn in the European balance, coupled with the stupidity of British policy, brought to the sturdy American patriots the factors they needed to crown their cause with success. Mr. Brown's study reminds us that the Revolution was far more than a matter of fife and drum history.

The Continental Congress and the Articles of Confederation have been assigned a lowly place by historians. Congress was a shadowy and impotent body, the Articles sired in ignorance. It is wrong to view the past only in the light of later manifestations, and to ignore the immediate and striking forces which shaped the event. The advocates of a stronger central government belaboured the defects of Congress and the historians have followed in their train. Granting the deficiencies of Congress as a central organ, it is only fair to say that the painful gestation of fifteen troubled years was a necessary experience in a nation striving to be born. The delegates came upon the continental stage from separate states long bred in the inertia of isolation and with little knowledge and experience beyond the horizon of local existence. Congress faced the strong centrifugal force of state rights, a titanic social upheaval, and the management of weighty continental affairs without the aid of chart or compass. Congress was an experiment and as such it was forced to improvise as it took its uncharted way under the sombre shadow of war.

Mr. Burnett lifts Congress out of the fog of misconception and puts it in the light of clear perspective in his volume, *The Continental Congress*. He came well equipped to depict the dramatic life and labours of Congress. As the competent editor of the letters of congressional delegates in eight bulky volumes, he lived intimately with them, knew the manner of men they were, and understood them as they wrestled with problems almost defying solution. Following chiefly the chronological method, Mr. Burnett preserves the general pattern of tangled threads,

and with a warmth of intimate details gives a colourful picture of Congress from one day to another, from session to session, as it groped its way over problems of war, foreign affairs, land, currency and prices, the framing of the Articles, and the tenuous relations with separatist states. In bold relief are etched the vagaries of human nature. Agreement was difficult among men drawn from a land of extreme diversities; strong personalities clashed, faction raised its head, sectional prejudice appeared, and nerves became frayed. In spite of an infinite variety of tribulations inherent in the situation, in spite of fissures and factions, Congress played an important role in the continental drama. Under its fumbling hands the future was taking shape. When the pressure of war was lifted and independence won, the states flew apart into jarring and jealous relations presaging the grave danger that freedom from Britain would be lost in a balkanized America. Congress grew weaker as men of lesser breed attended. Out of this bitter travail came great souls with a national vision who seized upon the defects of the Confederation to start the movement leading to a stronger central government.

The orthodox will raise an eyebrow at the failure to embroider the text with a hem of footnotes. Citations were unnecessary as the study is based chiefly on the letters of the delegates and the date in the text gives a clue to the letters. Frequent quotations from the letters give meaning and colour to the picture. Altogether it is a needed study well done.

Mr. Jensen, in his volume entitled *The Articles of Confederation*, essays an interpretation of the first constitution of the United States, as it was forged and finished in the hot crucible of economic and political forces. All the architects of the second constitution were not gathered at Philadelphia in 1787. In the Continental Congress and under the Articles of Confederation came a body of constructive legislation, a fund of ideas, principles, and practices to form an essential part of a more adequate general government. The line of continuity and accumulated experience is clear. The knotty problems of sovereignty, of taxation and representation, the relative power of small and large states, vigorously debated in forging the Articles, were identical with the issues discussed in framing the Constitution of 1787. Mr. Jensen also makes clear that the Revolution was a movement with two sharp edges. One was the struggle to cut the imperial cord, the other the striving of the unprivileged within America to break the power of a ruling aristocracy. When the decision of July 4, 1776, forced men to take sides, many conservatives threw in their lot heartily with independence. In so doing, the conservative remained just that, and while radical and conservative united against Britain, they diverged and contested on questions of internal policies. Here is the core of Mr. Jensen's interpretation. First he explains the struggle for power within the states, and then transfers the conflict to the continental stage. The old vexatious problem of dividing power between the American states and the British imperial government, which proved to be insoluble, now faced Congress as it entered upon the task of framing articles of union. On this broad stage the conservative group worked to fashion a strong central government but the radicals won the day with the construction of a union which left ultimate political power in the states.

It is an admirable study, competent and contemplative, and long overdue in enhancing our knowledge of early constitutional history. With all its virtues, and many they are, we feel that Mr. Jensen's point of view in several particulars should be challenged. In holding a brief for the forces of democracy he deals ungenerously with the party of conservatism. One will agree that the radical movement to democratize society and politics was wholesome. But one cannot accept the view

that the sole purpose of the conservatives in urging the creation of a strong central government was to buttress the power of aristocracy, and thus thwart the popular will. That there were selfish, self-centred men in the conservative group, predatory land speculators, and those nervous about their vested interests, cannot be denied. But that leaves out of account the many who saw the necessity of a strong union to check unlimited power in the states and to concentrate the national energies in the war for independence. They were men of national vision, looking not only at the present, but also to the future. Strong central government seemed to them necessary not only to win independence but to preserve it after freedom was won. Their fears were confirmed by the defects of the Confederation, their efforts were confirmed in the convention of 1787.

Tell the "naked unblushing truth," was the injunction laid by Hume on the historian. Musing upon what men have said about the past, Voltaire cynically remarked that historians play queer tricks upon the dead. Curious are the contrasts between history as thought and history as actuality: Washington, the man of his own day with his own human qualities, and Washington dressed in heroic proportions by the filio-pietists; Horatio Gates, the man that he was in life, and Gates wounded in history as a petty intriguer against Washington, a vile traducer of Schuyler, a sluggard after victory at Saratoga, a wretched fugitive after defeat at Camden; Congress as it played out an unrehearsed drama amid ponderous difficulties and Congress reviled in books as the essence of stupidity.

Mr. Knollenberg is a Daniel come to judgment. He enters the lists to correct the improper interpretations of revolutionary men and events. In brief and somewhat detached essays in his volume *Washington and the Revolution: A Reappraisal*, he summons controversial issues to the bar, reappraises the evidence, and awards justice. Washington and Gates stand in the forefront of the picture. Mindful of the great and enduring qualities of Washington, with no desire to indulge in spectacular debunking, he will not allow Washington's stature to be lengthened at the sacrifice of others. Recent research supports Mr. Knollenberg in exposing the Conway Cabal as a myth. The victory of Gates at Saratoga which brought the French alliance, and the defeat of Washington at Brandywine which led to the British capture of Philadelphia, prompted some peevish and impatient souls to hail Gates as the saviour of the cause. Knowing history and human nature, we should not be impressed by the effort of a few to replace Washington with Gates as chief in command. Gates is cleared of the charge of conspiracy in a diabolical plot to secure the chief command and thus satisfy his vanity. Nor did Congress entertain any proposal to oust Washington. It is true that the affair created bitter personal tensions within and without the halls of Congress, which means that even great men are heirs to human ills. Mr. Knollenberg also comes to the support of Gates and Congress in the trouble with Schuyler over the divided command of the northern army. In brief, students of the revolutionary era will do well to take heed of this reappraisal of disputed or distorted issues found in histories of the tragic era.

Gates left few papers to reveal the man, no friends to hymn his praise. Mr. Patterson comes forth to snatch Gates reviled in history to set him in true light. His full length biography, *Horatio Gates: Defender of American Liberties*, is firmly based upon a careful use of sources scattered in a score of libraries. A decade of patient labour went to the making of the book. Written in a lively and gracious manner, it presents a sympathetic yet balanced estimate of the man, kind to his virtues and not blind to his faults. Mr. Patterson stands shoulder by shoulder

with Mr. Knollenberg in appraising Gates. They consign to the scrap heap of prejudice the myth of a Conway Cabal, and they hold that Gates was no sluggard after victory at Saratoga. The charge that Gates failed to follow through with an annihilation of Burgoyne's army is not well taken. Gates was in no position to press onward with forces badly fatigued after battle and with a British army under Clinton only forty miles away. A conditional surrender of Burgoyne was a reasonable decision. Gates is relieved of the charge that he intrigued in Congress to injure Schuyler and secure for himself the command of the northern army. Congress removed the mediocre Schuyler not out of spite, and put Gates in command as a reasonable solution of a divided command. Shrouded in mystery remains the sudden flight of Gates from his defeated forces at Camden. The fault seems to lie not in a lack of bravery and leadership in battle, but in engaging the enemy with undisciplined troops fatigued by a forced march and inadequately supplied with equipment.

Washington and Gates touched each other at many points and the contacts often created friction. Differences in temperament account for much. The reserved and dignified Washington contrasted strangely with the hale and hearty Gates, forthright in speaking his mind. Both had faults, for as Mr. Patterson repeats, "Who faulteth not, liveth not." We wish that there was less inclination to use Washington as a foil to enhance the reputation of Gates. In strength of character and in his contributions to a cause in which he heartily believed, Gates can stand alone without the support of questionable comparisons. Mr. Patterson takes a certain glee in pulling heroic figures from their pedestals and carrying them to the attic. Uncomplimentary remarks about Sullivan, Hancock, Sherman, Putnam, and Schuyler tend to create a false impression of valiant men, who in spite of defects in temper and training, played conspicuous parts in the success of the cause. A trifle of adverse criticism must not blind us to the excellence of a biography which does justice to Gates where justice was long overdue.

In *The Background of the American Revolution in Maryland*, Mr. Barker expounds the forces and issues gradually schooling and strengthening Maryland to share a place in the greater movement of secession from Britain. In this background preparation, the connection of the province within the Empire is not slighted, but the staple of the study is the emergence of the province to statehood as the result of forces peculiarly local. Throughout runs the story of the struggle between an alien and narrow proprietary rule, semi-feudal in nature and power, and a vigorous self-reliant people bent upon breaking an order contrary to the public interest. Mr. Barker is not content simply to catalogue facts but plumbs deeply into the various human forces which directed and coloured thought and action against proprietary control. Skilfully he blends the social, economic, and political forces into an intelligent and colourful pattern. Economic and political discontent created climate ready to receive the liberal ideas of Coke, Locke, and other philosophers whose writings mirrored the popular gropings to impose limitations upon arbitrary power. But in the advance toward home rule the contest was carried on by a squirearchy composed of the landed class, secure in position, affluent, intelligent, and well knit socially and politically. This class joined the Revolution to save their power and prestige against the British menace and then framed a state constitution conservative in character. The study is admirable in scholarship and expressed in clear and thoughtful language.

The *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library*, compiled by Mr. Howard H. Peckham, is a boon to scholars engaged in research.

This handsome volume warns us that it provides no catalogue, calendar, or subject index, nor is it a guide to all collections. The purpose is solely to present a general analysis of some of the collections to enable students to know whether or not the Library houses sources pertinent to particular subjects of study. The arrangement of the guide serves its purpose well. The collections are unusually rich in revolutionary papers and it is noteworthy that most of the studies under review used the sources at Ann Arbor. In fact, Mr. Van Doren's story of the Arnold plot is based primarily upon the *Clinton Papers* of which nearly seventy letters are printed as an appendix in his *Secret History*.

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SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE¹

M R. WILLIAMSON'S lectures on English maritime enterprise and its effects upon the national life could hardly have appeared at a more opportune moment. The subject is one of perennial interest. The author is qualified, as are few men now living, to deal with its complexities. In *The Ocean in English History* his material is presented with the vigour and clarity which students have come to associate with his work. These facts would have made the book an important addition to the literature of the subject at any time; but the events of the past two years have added to its interest in a way that could not have been foreseen when the lectures were delivered. British maritime supremacy and the empire which

¹For the bibliography of this article, see p. 320.

has developed under that supremacy are threatened as never before in their history; and this record of the pioneers of British rule beyond the seas will be read today as something more than a simple chronicle of past achievements.

For those who are familiar with the author's earlier work on this subject, there is perhaps little here that is entirely new. Some details are added, but in substance it is the story of British expansion, related particularly to the political, economic, and social development of Great Britain itself. The account opens with the discovery of America and the new trade routes to the East, and with the reaction of Englishmen to the problems and the possibilities created for them by these events. The narrative which follows is a record of adventure on the high seas, of numerous voyages of discovery, of the establishment of colonies, above all, of the eager and endless search for trade in every corner of the globe. The book ends with an estimate of what has been achieved, and of the effects of this achievement on the character and outlook of English society, and on England's position in the world at the beginning of the war with revolutionary France.

In the main this is a record of individual achievement, but it is also, as Mr. Williamson emphasizes, the history of a great national undertaking. The idea that the British Empire was acquired "in a fit of absent-mindedness," or that it grew up as an unforeseen result of the isolated actions of individuals, he dismisses as entirely mythical. "Its planning," he observes, in a comment on the sixteenth century, "engaged the best brains of thinkers and men of action"; and what was true in the days of Hackluyt and the "Elizabethan Propagandists" became more true with the passage of every decade. But the empire thus envisaged meant for most men not an empire of settlement, but an empire of commerce. The benefits of trade, in the form of national wealth which increased out of all proportion to the growth of population, were self-evident. By contrast, the advantages of colonies as areas of settlement seemed somewhat hypothetical.

Colonization is not neglected, and the author makes some interesting comments on the settlements of the seventeenth century. He challenges the popular view that the Puritan leaders migrated to Massachusetts because of the intolerance of the English government. "They fled," he says, "not so much because England was intolerant, as because they themselves were intolerant." The forms of colonial government, the motives and ideals of the leaders, even the geographic situation, were, in his opinion, of interest only to the founders. To the mass of emigrants the one consideration was the opportunity for a fresh start; and it mattered little whether the colony was Puritan or Catholic, or whether it was situated in New England or the Caribbean. Such passages, however, are almost in the nature of *obiter dicta*. The theme of the book is the ocean; and the ocean in this context meant primarily a highway of commerce.

The effects of this development on English society were profound and far-reaching. The subject has been dealt with by many writers, but seldom in more suggestive manner than in the closing chapters of this book. To the men of the eighteenth century, for whom trade, especially English trade, was practically synonymous with civilization, it brought no misgivings. But there is a passage here on which some of Mr. Williamson's readers in 1942 may pause to reflect. It refers to England's position on the outbreak of the war with the French Republic in 1793. "Defeat in earlier wars," he says, "would have meant loss of pride and prestige and of superfluous colonial wealth, perhaps change of dynasty, and the ruin of many individuals of the ruling and mercantile classes. Defeat in this war would have brought economic collapse, the starvation of millions, political and

social revolution." From that disaster England was saved by the navy, which was itself in large measure a product of this maritime growth. But the statement suggests the change that had taken place. The ocean was no longer a national interest of some importance. It was becoming in effect almost the foundation of the commercial and industrial society which, for better or worse, was superseding the more balanced economy of an earlier period.

Professor Knaplund's *The British Empire, 1815-1939*, is a book of a very different order. It too is a history of British expansion, on a greater scale and with more important results than that which is recorded by Mr. Williamson. But it is much more than that. It is a sober and scholarly analysis of the growth of the Empire as a political system, which, for all its defects, has come to represent a genuine ideal of human progress. In his introduction to the volume, Professor Ford describes the British Empire as "the greatest of human institutions"; and he justifies this description by the statement that "wherever the empire has been extended, there too have gone law and ordered liberty and the quest for justice." That may perhaps be taken as the theme of Professor Knaplund's work,—the extension of the Empire, and the progressive application, in various ways, and under widely varying conditions, of the basic principles of British government. The author has no illusions about imperialism. His wide and deep knowledge of the subject, manifested on every page of this volume, is proof against that. But his knowledge of the harsher and more objectionable features of imperialism does not blind him to the other side of the picture. Self-government where that was possible, and trusteeship for backward peoples have not been, in his judgment, "mere empty phrases on the lips of sentimental humanitarians." These have been and are of the essence of British rule, as that has developed out of the cruder commercial and industrial imperialism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and throughout his work the author pays generous tribute to all those, officials in the Colonial Office, representatives of British rule in India and elsewhere, missionaries, humanitarian reformers, and others, who have laboured to bring about this change.

In form this book resembles Professor Newton's *A Hundred Years of the British Empire* (London, 1940), which was reviewed in these columns in June, 1941; but the present author's scheme is more ambitious, and his subject-matter is much more extensive. This includes not only the study of the Empire as a unit, of its complicated machinery of government, of successive phases of territorial expansion, and of the international complications to which this gave rise, but a somewhat detailed history of the political, economic, and social development of each of its parts. The results are not always equally satisfactory. The sketches of domestic history in Great Britain which preface each of the four sections into which the book is divided, are too brief and general to be of much use to the student. The chapters on India, on the other hand, form a brilliant summary of the growth of British rule in the sub-continent, of the difficulties which it has encountered, and of the changes which it has wrought. They are interspersed with short sketches, often very illuminating, of some of the leading actors in this history, Lawrence, Dalhousie, Curzon, and others. The corresponding chapters on Canada and on South Africa are less satisfactory. They are crowded with detail, sometimes of a rather trifling character. Yet they are too short to form adequate histories of these countries; and it may be doubted whether some of this material might not have been omitted, and the space given to a more exhaustive study of changes in Great Britain.

That is minor criticism of a book which is in most respects a masterly synthesis

of a subject that is almost unmanageable in its proportions. There can be very little that Professor Knaplund has missed. He gives special attention to the organization of the Colonial Office and to the work of various colonial secretaries and their assistants. There are interesting sections on emigration, and on the conditions governing it in Great Britain and in Ireland. In the final section on the development of the Empire and Commonwealth since 1901, there is perhaps too little space given to the evolution of Dominion status; but in earlier sections the change from representative to responsible government is traced with a sure touch. The hyper-critical expert may find some flaws; but the student will find here a book that is written as though it were intended to be read, and a book that is something more than a mere summary of the history of the Empire in the greatest century of its development.

Mr. Guttridge's essay on *English Whiggism and the American Revolution* is an interesting addition to the growing body of literature on the subject of political parties in the reign of George III. It may be regarded almost as a supplement to some of Professor Namier's work on the period, and it forms an invaluable introduction to Professor Barnes's recent volume on George III and the Younger Pitt.² Its purpose is to determine whether there was any reality in the party labels of these years, and whether there was any relationship between domestic controversies and the American problem.

The Whigs have the spotlight, and the shifts and manœuvres of the various groups who claimed to be in the Whig tradition are subjected to searching scrutiny. Under the conditions of the new reign they were forced to decide "whether Whiggism was a book closed in 1689, or a living doctrine of change"; and that decision was not easy to make. Before 1760 the theory of the closed book served them admirably; but when they were confronted with the real Toryism of George III, the Toryism of the "non-partisan state," they were obliged to adjust their thinking to a novel situation. Their efforts to do so form the subject of this study.

There were several almost insurmountable difficulties. The Whigs were *par excellence* the defenders of property. Mr. Guttridge shows that in one Whig meeting in Yorkshire, there was more property represented than in the entire House of Commons. It was not easy for men like Rockingham and Portland to ally themselves on principle with the radicalism of Wilkes and his followers; and without such an alliance, there was no very evident source of popular support. They were, too, with the outstanding exception of Chatham, the leading advocates of the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty; and their position as defenders of the rights of the colonies was weakened by the fact that George III himself was equally firm in the maintenance of this principle. Despite these and other difficulties, some progress was made in transforming the Whigs, at least those who followed Rockingham, into a party of reform, in a very limited sense. A good deal of space is given to the political teaching of Burke, and to the position and principles of Lord Chatham. The latter, it may be noted, does not emerge as quite so omniscient an oracle as he appears in many earlier works on the period. This is a short essay, but the author has managed to compress a surprising amount of material in it, and it is to be hoped that we shall have more studies of the kind from him. The letters of Richard Champion, published in a separate booklet, *The American Correspondence of a Bristol Merchant, 1766-1776*, throw an interesting light on the relations between some English merchants and their friends and business associates

²Donald Grove Barnes, *George III and William Pitt, 1783-1806: A New Interpretation based on their Unpublished Correspondence* (Stanford, 1939).

in America. They confirm the view that, among this class at least, the dispute with the colonies was judged almost entirely by reference to its effects on trade.

To move from the polite deliberations of aristocratic politicians in the period of the American Revolution to the Chartist agitation which followed the passage of the Reform Bill, is to move into another world. In this new world of humbler men, concerned not with the politics of empire, but with the more immediate problem of getting enough to eat, Mr. Cole is thoroughly at home; and his portraits of twelve leading Chartists will enable others the better to understand what manner of world this was, and what manner of men were these who set about to reform it. This method of dealing with Chartism involves a certain amount of repetition; but it has the advantage of showing what a many-sided movement it was, and how diverse were the characters and ideals of those who aspired to lead it.

In this last fact, as Mr. Cole emphasizes throughout, will be found one of the principal causes of the failure of the movement. Most of the men whose careers are here examined were honest and conscientious. None of them can be regarded as in any way sinister. Some of them had attained a measure of success in their various occupations. But not a single one of them possessed the qualities required for successful leadership. They were not a board of strategy, acting in concert for the achievement of an object on which they were all agreed. There was, of course, a general agreement to support the six points of the Charter, and there was some measure of co-operation between some of the leaders; but, as they are revealed here, these men appear, not as the directors of a unified movement, but rather as separate leaders of separate forces which collectively made up the heterogeneous body of workmen who supported the movement.

The gallery includes not only such well-known leaders as Lovett, O'Connor, and O'Brien, but Thomas Attwood, the Birmingham currency reformer, whose political union had aided in the passage of the Reform Bill, John Frost, some-time justice of the peace in Monmouth, and the leader of the rising at Newport, and Joseph Stevens, a somewhat unorthodox minister of the Methodist Church, and a self-styled Tory, whose language was more violent and inflammatory than that of any other leader. Among the most interesting biographies are those of Joseph Sturge and John Fielden, both sprung from the new class of industrial employers, and both moved to support this movement by their own knowledge of the conditions under which the factory workers lived. These men are worth study in themselves; but the most interesting feature of the book is the steady light which it throws upon the conditions of life in so many widely separated areas of this industrialized England. Mr. Cole has written many books on this period, but few of them will be read with more interest than this series of biographies.

Little need be said here of Mr. Knappen's *Constitutional and Legal History of England*. It is a text-book, written to meet the requirements created by recent changes in the curricula of some American colleges; and it has the qualities and the limitations of such a book. Its merit is the clarity and simplicity to which the author has reduced the subject, without any serious sacrifice of scholarship. Mr. Knappen is writing for students who are assumed to be in a state of blissfully complete ignorance on every aspect of English history; and for their benefit he has related the development of the constitution, and of a large part of English private law, in terms which should be within the comprehension of the most immature of his readers. One interesting and valuable feature is a series of cross-references, which enables the reader to trace the development of separate institutions, or of

constitutional theories, through the various sections into which the whole work is divided.

The best sections of the book are those on the Middle Ages and the period of the Tudors and early Stuarts. The accounts of the origins of parliament and the development of the common law in the later Middle Ages are admirable in their clarity and brevity. There is a good analysis of the constitutional effects of the Reformation, and of the changes which were leading to conflict at the end of the sixteenth century. The later sections of the book are less satisfactory. Such questions as the growth of political parties in the eighteenth century, and the evolution of the principles and practice of cabinet government are passed over with only the most cursory examination. To neglect these things, and to give more space to the law of trespass than to the principles involved in the dispute between parliament and the American colonies, is surely to destroy the balance of a book which is presumably intended chiefly as a study of the English constitution.

One is left in doubt whether Mr. Knappen has not in fact attempted too much. The chapters on general history which precede those on the constitution in each period are too sketchy to be of much use to the student. Some of them indeed, are of so general a character as to leave quite inaccurate impressions on many important points. But it would be unfair to end on this note of criticism. Within its limits—and it is of course written for a particular group of readers—it is a useful book, and one which can be recommended to all those who have need of a short and orderly survey of the growth of the institutions of government under which we live.

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CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS¹

AMONG the items to be noticed in this year's review article on "Canada and Commonwealth Affairs" there is a larger proportion of scholarly contributions on pre-war themes than was the case in the first two years of the war. Even these, however, are given an accentuated timeliness by the present crisis of the Commonwealth.

Professor Hancock continues his *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, of which volume I, *Problems of Nationality, 1918-1936*, appeared five years ago (reviewed C.H.R., XVIII, 322), and volume II, *Problems of Economic Policy, 1918-1939, Part I*, two years ago (reviewed C.H.R., XXII, 302). *Part 2* of volume II deals with the evolution of Southern Africa as a "settlers' frontier" and West Africa as a "traders' frontier." Again the author is dealing with economic facts, closely studied, and tests policies in relation to these. In the Union of South Africa policy has ceased to be that of a distant imperial power and has passed into the hands of a resident and autonomous European democracy. Here race relations are of predominant importance, not Boer-British but between white and non-European elements, native, coloured, and Asiatic. The victory of segregation over assimilation as the basis of native policy is qualified by the economic dependence of the white community upon the labour of the natives and the consequent problems for all concerned. South Africa's inland northern neighbours, as far as Kenya, comprising "white man's country" in which South Africa has an almost proprietary interest, show a tendency to assimilation of racial policy to that prevailing in the south notwithstanding the political separateness. Here, too, the imperial factor, with its element of trusteeship, may face practical elimination if the habit grows of stating obligations of trusteeship vaguely in the face of colonial demands. Nyasaland has been a partial exception owing to the strength of the missionary factor in its development as a frontier. The tendency for the non-European peoples in South Africa to become increasingly "participants in European civilization" cannot and ought not to be arrested. An economic approach to the problems shows that slogans and programmes are relative and incomplete. "Co-operation, recognized as a fact and pursued as a deliberate end, may transcend the conflict between the two extremes of 'assimilation' and 'segregation'."

The attempt to substitute "a just and equitable traffic" for the West African slave trade, the work of missionaries, and the administration of officials, have all played their parts in shaping the "trader's frontier" of British West Africa, where the "plantation" type of development has not found favour. Problems of production and marketing, and their implications for the principle of trusteeship, receive large attention. While economic policy has become more coherent, with the purpose of implementing trusteeship, there has not yet been success in integrating the commercial, missionary, and administrative fronts which white civilization presents to West African native society so as adequately to aid in the adaptation of native life to its inevitable inclusion in the modern world. Welfare of colonial populations has become an aim, to be realized by direct aid if necessary. The welfare of all nations and peoples has become interdependent. That is the author's challenge. "Trusteeship on behalf of backward and neglected peoples, when it is given a positive economic content, will demand for its effective exercise positive international collaboration."

¹This is the thirteenth annual article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article, see p. 325.

A study of another type of frontier deals with England's "oldest colony" in the period when it was undergoing transformation from a fishing station to a fully recognized settlement colony. Dr. McLintock, in *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A study of Retarded Colonisation*, tells more than a constitutional story, for his study also throws light on the growth of the Newfoundland community and the many peculiar problems that beset it. Though he minimizes the importance of previous trends towards regular colonial status, the half-century dealt with was certainly a crucial period in Newfoundland's development and a significant part of the background of the island's special position today. It has been generally neglected by historians, and many of the materials for its study have become accessible only in the present century in view of their bearing on the long diplomatic controversy with France over the fisheries. Tracing colonial agitation for reform, the author recognizes that the changing temper of political life in Britain has much to do with the eventually favourable response. Printed as an appendix is part of a hitherto unknown report by James Stephen on the proposed Newfoundland legislature, which contains interesting comments on the legislative system as it existed in other colonies, notably the Maritime Provinces. (Reviewed at length C.H.R., XXIII, 84.)

Beside this study of Newfoundland by a New Zealander, done at London under Professor A. P. Newton, stands a Canadian study by a South African, also done at London, under Professor H. J. Laski. Dr. Gwen Neuendorff, in *Studies in the Evolution of Dominion Status*, treats two themes, *The Governor-Generalship of Canada*, and *The Development of Canadian Nationalism*. The evolution of the governor-generalship has been of as "pivotal importance" for the Dominions and as "vital for the form of their development" as the change in the kingship since Stuart times has been in England. It has facilitated the development of "parliamentary government" in the Dominions and their continuance in the Empire. Discussing the nature of the office and tracing its history in Canada, the author thinks that "on the whole Canada has been very fortunate in her Governors-General . . . one is unable to study the relationship between Governor-General and Cabinet in Canada, without realizing that much of the Governor's interference was due to the weakness or inexperience of his Ministers, and was indeed often welcomed, and the fact that Canadian statesmen have outgrown the necessity for reliance on the Governor-General is more a tribute to their present maturity than a censure of his undue interference in earlier times." The conclusion is reached that further development of the office is probable in order to bring it more fully into line with the fact that the British government is no longer responsible for the governor's appointment, instructions or conduct, responsibility in all these matters resting on the Dominion government. In the second and briefer part of the volume Canada's vindication of nationalism is traced in three aspects, political status, economic relationship, and defence. Though Canada's point of view prevailed in these matters there remained the difficulty for her as for other Dominions of exercising a constructive influence on the policies of Great Britain as senior partner. Yet the Dominions' negative influence has been strong. "Appeasement undoubtedly owes much in its execution, if not in its inspiration, to the Dominions" though "the present war must have disappointed almost as many Jeremiahs as the last."

A long-awaited general history of the Empire is Professor Knaplund's *The British Empire, 1815-1939*, the latest addition to Harper's Historical Series. It is a text-book, but will have interest for others than undergraduates as the most

comprehensive and up-to-date treatment of its whole subject by an American scholar, who is a specialist in the field (reviewed C.H.R., this issue, 317). "Longmans Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth" provide brief popular accounts of large subjects by recognized authorities. So far they include *Britain and India, 1600-1941*, by Professor Reginald Coupland; *Britain and South Africa* by Professor Eric A. Walker; *From the British Empire to the British Commonwealth*, by Sir Alfred Zimmern; and *The Canadian Nation* by J. L. Morison. In *The British Commonwealth: Opinions Regarding Its Composition, Objects, et Cetera*, Mr. T. S. Ewart has assembled 275 quotations and references presenting a wide diversity of views. Exact citations of sources makes it possible to place each in its context, and there is an ingenious analytical index to facilitate their use.

Introducing Australia does well what its name implies. Mr. C. Hartley Grattan enjoyed exceptional opportunities as a Carnegie Fellow to enlarge his knowledge of Australia by extended study of its people and their affairs at close quarters. He describes the land, sketches the growth of its people, and describes their way of life, social and cultural as well as economic and political. Australia's place in the world as a British Dominion and its relation to the two "World Wars" receive special attention. A concluding section discusses tomorrow's prospects, both for Australia's democracy and for her international position. Informed and critically sympathetic, the book is written primarily for American readers. This adapts it also well in many ways for Canadian readers, though when the author undertakes to explain in a few pages the rise of the Dominions, dealing somewhat generally with the whole group, Canadians will realize that his interpretation of the British Commonwealth relationship fits the Australian situation at some points more aptly than the Canadian. The book is best when it deals directly with Australia and with its relations, past and potential, to the British Commonwealth, to the Far East, and to the United States. One is at a loss to know why the Australian flag is pictured in reverse.

British Rule in Eastern Asia: A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong by Lennox A. Mills is another timely work made possible by "foundation" support. The Rhodes Trust, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council, besides the University of Minnesota, made possible the journeys which enabled Professor Mills to do a thorough study, based not merely on all available reports but in large measure upon personal investigations and interviews on the ground as well as in London. Completed in 1939, his book is invaluable for its up-to-date information and its appraisals of both British Malaya and Hong Kong on the eve of their fall. Resources and their development in Malaya, trade and its promotion in both colonies, are seen in their effects on character, numbers, and activities of the populations, and problems of government are examined in relation to all these circumstances. Some comparisons are made with the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines. The condition of agricultural labour, for example, was slightly better in Malaya than in the former and far better than in the latter. This is attributed to a programme of public works that attracted British and Chinese miners and planters, whose activity in turn provided the basis of larger revenues which could be devoted to social services—medicine, public health, education, etc., while the small agriculturist was also enabled to increase his income by the production of copra and rubber for export. In dealing with governmental matters the author is at pains to distinguish between forms and realities and to assess the latter no less than the former in relation to actual conditions. Delay in publication of the

American edition made possible the insertion of a foreword commenting on the fall of Hong Kong and Singapore. This as well as the book itself is commended to those who were immediately ready with snap judgments as to causes. Furthermore, as Mr. Mills points out with regard to Malaya, "The Japanese conquest cannot alter the essential problems; and any durable settlement must be based upon a realistic study of the fundamental conditions of Malaya."

War-time speeches by two Dominion prime ministers have been published in collections possessing permanent importance besides current interest. In *Canada at Britain's Side*, are speeches and addresses given by Mr. Mackenzie King on the radio, in Parliament, and elsewhere, from September 3, 1939, to July 10, 1941. These, together with brief notes preceding each, which supply relevant facts that give them their setting, "provide a connected and continuous account of Canada's war effort appropriately set against the background of the struggle itself." Read thus as a body and in the perspective of events now past, these utterances present a picture of a more conscious, a more consistent, and a more positive policy than the Prime Minister's critics have sometimes been wont to credit him with at the time of their pronouncement. The collection covers a period long enough to include his New York address by which, when the Lend-Lease Act and the Hyde Park Declaration had made it expedient, he sought "to remove such erroneous impressions concerning Canada's contribution to freedom as the isolationist campaign had tended to create in the United States," and to take account of the Nazi attack on Russia. Perhaps his Guildhall speech of a few weeks later, which would have made a most fitting conclusion to the present volume, will introduce its successor. Mr. Menzies' volume, *To the People of Britain at War from the Prime Minister of Australia* is more limited in scope, as it is confined to the speeches that he gave in Britain during his sojourn there in the earlier part of 1941, except for a brief introduction and a broadcast from Cairo on his way. There is a similarity, however, to Mr. King's volume, in that he also is absorbed in expounding his own Dominion's policy and describing its effort, and impressing on his listeners the greatness of the issues at stake. Both prime ministers insist repeatedly that their countries are in the war of their own volition and because the struggle is vitally their own, at the same time pledging them to see it through by Britain's side.

In the winter of 1940-1 Sir Walter Citrine visited America to address the American Federation of Labor. He travelled across both the United States and Canada, made many addresses before a diversity of audiences, and talked with a great variety of persons. *My American Diary* blends an intimately personal record with comment on opinion concerning the war and on the progress of American "aid to Britain" and the Canadian war effort. Not the least interesting portions discuss the position of organized labour. He was one of the more successful emissaries of "embattled Britain" in the winter of her most obvious peril. Publication of this book was evidently intended to interpret North America sympathetically to his fellow-countrymen. Its usefulness to the student of history will grow as time makes more difficult the recapture of "atmosphere."

Among recent discussions of war-time collaboration and post-war organization two are of special interest for their bearing on the problem of the British Commonwealth: *The United Nations: What They Are; What They May Become*, by Henri Bonnet, and *One Anglo-American Nation: The Foundation of Anglo Saxon as Basis of World Federation: A British Response to Streit*, by George Catlin. M. Bonnet, from the vantage-ground of his long experience in the Secretariat of the League of Nations and as Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation,

advocates building post-war institutions in large measure on those developed in war-time, and moulding the latter with that in mind as well as the need of serving the immediate necessities of the conflict. He therefore starts with an account of the existing collaboration among nations and groups of the United Nations. He recognizes that a Supreme Council is not feasible, at any rate as yet, but urges the formation of a United Nations Political Council. He deems separate regional councils a danger and argues that one council would serve regional as well as general needs if it were understood that attendance of minor powers would depend on their interest in the agenda. Technical councils should be set up to serve such a political council, and both should be carried over into the peace and should be developed with that in view. Such a step would breed confidence and be the best answer to the fear of "a future world domination by the United States and some other great Powers." "Universalism," he concludes, "after the tragic experience of the past twenty years, may be viewed with some distrust. Nobody in the world could again conceive of world cooperation without the United States. By taking the lead now, in full agreement with the Allies, in instilling life into a United Nations, the United States will make the victory a lasting one, and help to lay the foundation for the Order of Free Men."

Continuing his advocacy of federal union (cf. his *Anglo-Saxony and Its Tradition*, 1939, reviewed C.H.R., XXI, 315) Professor Catlin now urges as a first step the union of the British Commonwealth and the United States. Perhaps before long it could include the Low Countries and Scandinavia on the one hand through their close association with Britain and the nations of Latin-America on the other through their association with the United States. The union should be open to other countries in due course, but it can only be effective on the basis of a certain compatibility of its members in ideals and values and therefore its expansion should not be prematurely pushed.

Community of cultural tradition and outlook paves the way to common loyalties; comparable standards of living make union economically practicable. Common military need promotes integration of political, military, and economic action. He is for moving step by step and is willing to move tentatively and deliberately, but argues the importance of accepting the idea of growth towards a real federation and setting about the task of building it institutionally. The alternative is going back. Already when he wrote, Canadian and British collaboration with the United States had become so close that the alternative to drawing still closer must after the war be recriminations and difficulties. Politically and economically though not culturally he would obliterate the Canadian-United States frontier, not to create a North America set apart from the rest of the Commonwealth but rather as part of the elimination of other frontiers. He likes Wendell Willkie's suggestion for free "English-speaking" migration and a common citizenship for the United States and the British Commonwealth. Canada, he insists, is in such a pivotal position that "she can attain an influence quite disproportionate to her position as a secondary Power" granted that she will make up her mind "what scheme of world order she is prepared to back" and that her statesmen recognize the strength of her position and use it with skill. His chief divergence from Streit is that the latter's proposals are "on a flat plain of immediacy, which allows for logic but not for history."

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Short History of Canada for Americans. By ALFRED LEROY BURT. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press [Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited]. 1942. Pp. xvi, 279. (\$3.50)

To write a history of Canada in any vital sense must surely be among the most difficult of literary tasks. He who would attempt it is faced with the problem of imposing unity upon masses of unrelated and therefore intractable material; if he is not careful he will have several histories running alongside each other rather than one integrated story. For example, he must give due weight to Nova Scotia; but until 1867 Nova Scotia had a history of her own. Again, the two St. Lawrence colonies have each their own separate, but entangled experience. Nor does a topical arrangement give a solution, since topics of principal importance for one area may have little bearing on another. Not until Confederation do the bits and pieces of the jig-saw puzzle begin to assume a little symmetry, and even today, seventy-five years later, they are still far from forming a neat picture. The search for an integrating principal stands high on the list of objectives for the historians of Canada.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the area now known as the Dominion of Canada had been, except for the community of French Canada, little more than a reflection of the activities of two European powers and it was mainly these activities that had given it whatever significance it possessed. It was only slowly that that which was without form and void took on shape and substance. Even today Canada presents to the spectator the disarray and untidiness marking the beginning of a new building rather than the semblance of an integrated piece of mechanism such as the older nation states may be said to constitute. The person who would attempt to describe the story of the half-finished job, with the tools, the piles of dirt from the excavations and the other paraphernalia of construction lying about, must write with the eye of faith. He must be able to imagine what the structure will look like when it is finished and he must be more or less pleased with what he can imagine.

But unless the structure has unique characteristics of some sort, it will be difficult to get other people interested in the story of how it was built. Canadians, as owners of the house, may be interested in every last incident connected with building, but since it is neither very large nor of startling beauty, it is difficult to believe that others will do more than bestow an approving (or disapproving) glance as they pass. It is only the greatest states whose history receives much attention outside their own borders. Canadian history must be mainly for Canadians.

Professor Burt has placed a compact little book at the disposal of our neighbours, who will wish to know as much about us as people who live in large houses normally wish to know about people who live in near-by small ones. Within a space of less than 300 pages he has had to avoid descending into detail, nor would a depth of detail be in order in a book designed to give to other people a general impression of their neighbours. Whether he has succeeded in convincing American readers that there is anything of special interest in the story of Canada is questionable. Americans who read his book will probably do so because Canada is next door, not because of the intrinsic interest of its history.

The book may well be more useful for Canadians than for Americans: it incor-

porates many of the results of modern scholarship and presents them in acceptable style; it is short, clear, and unpedantic; it has innumerable pictures of greater or lesser relevance, and reproduces some interesting cartoons: these are qualities that should commend it to a Canadian audience. Canadian readers with specialized knowledge may well find some of the explanations offered rather too simple to be satisfying, i.e. the interlocking of federal and provincial powers, pages 193ff., or such statements as that on page 164—"Meanwhile [1854], the Tories had practically disappeared."

In its economic, geographical, and even social aspects, the book is not as strong as in other areas. Thus chapter 9, "A Half-Century of Growth," begins with a misapprehension on the subject of population development, continues with a failure to make a clear distinction between northern and southern Irish immigrants, and a little farther on reveals not too clear an understanding of the circumstances of pioneer days.

A History of Canada for Americans, being written for "cold strangers," leaves little room for a display of Professor Burt's dramatic powers. He holds himself in leash. He is engaged in explaining his own people to those who cannot be counted on to be more than mildly interested and his efforts to carry off a point with a note of humour instead of with his fine gusto or the deep scholarship he has displayed in other publications are not always successful. His book is a useful outline, a superior compendium which Americans who have links with Canada will read with interest but one lays it down with the feeling that the author has not entirely succeeded in making his subject come alive. Americans who have never been in Canada and have no previous knowledge of the country will still be puzzled when they have finished reading. Canada will still be to them a peculiar place, and of no great moment. No Canadian could write a plain, unvarnished tale to be put before other people: he would either exaggerate or under-emphasize. Perhaps it is a task best left for others who should be able to see us "warts and all." Our own interest in the intimate processes of our growth may well be the most profitable field for our talents. However, Mr. Burt's experiment is perfectly legitimate and may open up an attractive line of country.

A. R. M. LOWER

United College, Winnipeg.

The Canadian Peoples. By B. K. SANDWELL. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 128. (75c.)

MR. SANDWELL has given himself the difficult task of presenting the outlines of Canadian development within the brief compass of some 30,000 words. Though his initial interest is in the racial and cultural elements which are being fused to form the Dominion, he takes within his survey the whole picture from the earliest explorers to the emergency created by the fall of France in 1940. The book is probably intended as an introduction to Canada for readers abroad, but it contains much that is suggestive for Canadians as well.

Mr. Sandwell's first sentence contains the statement that Canada has, besides the British North America Act, "an unwritten constitution wholly derived from that of Great Britain." This would seem to be an under-estimate of American influence in Canada which is characteristic of the book generally. On the other hand, the author shows both insight and imagination in his treatment of the French Canadians and their relations with the English. He finds space even to deal briefly with the economic determinists, whose explanation of Confederation

he finds inadequate. The growth of national spirit in the period of Confederation proves, he thinks, that there must have been amongst the people of British North America, "even before their union, a distinct sense of themselves as an entity different from, and proud of being different from, the people of the United States."

R. G. RIDDELL

The University of Toronto.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1940-1. Par ANTOINE ROY.
Quebec: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. viii, 489.

Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New York State (exclusive of New York City). Vol. I. Albany, N.Y.: Work Projects Administration. Historical Records Survey. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 512 (mimeo.).

THE Quebec Archives Report is notable since it is the twenty-first brought out by M. Pierre-Georges Roy. Unfortunately, the volume with which the series comes of age also records the retirement of the archivist, and the death of his collaborator for many years and a member of the Archives' staff for almost twenty years, M. l'Abbé Ivanhoë Caron. M. Roy will remain as consultant archivist.

The volume, which maintains the high standard set by its predecessors, is divided into three sections. The first (pp. 1-93) contains a collection of the letters of William Berczy to his wife Charlotte, written between 1798 and 1812, mainly from Quebec. Some were sent from Upper Canada and two from England. The originals are in the *Baby Collection* of the University of Montreal. Berczy was born in Saxony, but travelled widely in Europe. After two colonization schemes of his had failed, the second in Markham township, Upper Canada, Berczy settled in Montreal, where he set himself up as a painter. He had been an art student in Italy. The editor says that the letters show the artist as a model husband, a loving father, and an accomplished man of the world, and give interesting information on the society of the time. This is an understatement. Berczy wrote at length to his wife and asked her to keep his letters as he might wish to refer to them in connection with a description of Canada which he proposed to write. The letters, therefore, give something more than might be expected in ordinary family correspondence. They describe various communities and the difficulties of travel in Upper and Lower Canada, and tell of postal service, Berczy's food, night attire, spectacles, the portraits he was painting, the payment he received, what his clients expected him to achieve, and many other matters. Probably the greatest value of the letters lies in the scattered information they give on early Canadian art. They are also interesting in themselves. Even the language is entertaining. Berczy wrote German, English, and French, and evidently read Latin. His wife was Swiss and he wrote to her in French. Sometimes his vocabulary and spelling became confused, as it did when he began to cook for himself and told her that he had bought "un bon saussepan" in which he could cook "un bon Irish Stew" (p. 69).

The second section of the volume (pp. 95-332) gives a bibliography of genealogies and histories of families. There are two parts. The first is a list, by authors, in alphabetical order, of general works and articles in periodicals on French-Canadian families. The second part gives a list of almost 2,500 names of families, with the places in which information may be found on them.

Probably the most generally useful section of the Report is the third (pp. 333-473) which contains a survey by the late Abbé Caron of documents concerning the Church in Canada during the years 1700 to 1717. The first instalment,

covering the years 1610-99, was printed in the twentieth *Report* and was fully described in a review of that volume by Professor Long (C.H.R., XXII, 440-1). A foot-note says that the rest of the survey will be printed in the next *Report*, but the date to which it is prepared is not given.

The index lists names and places appearing in the first and third sections.

The second volume, while it deals with the State of New York, has many items which will interest Canadian students. For example, 642 letters (written between 1847 and 1857) in the collection of the DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, Ithaca, concerning a telegraph system in the United States and Canada, probably would throw light on the history of Canadian communications. But it is unlikely that any student would look for the letters there, if the guide had not drawn attention to them.

In his foreword, Mr. Arthur Pound, State Historian of New York, calls it a "colossal inventory." The description is fitting. The guide describes the manuscript holdings of 226 depositories. The collections vary in size from the single photostatic copy of a family history preserved in the Bancroft Library, Salem, to the large masses of material in Syracuse University Library, the New York State Historical Association, Cornell University Library, and many other places. Each depository is dealt with under the headings: custodian, hours when open, history and purpose, if photostatic service is available, and if accommodation is adequate. The number of institutions which report having ample space is surprising.

The labour involved in getting out the publication must have been enormous but the result will be of lasting value. The index, which covers 153 pages, with two columns to a page, is excellent.

JAMES J. TALMAN

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Northwest Water Boundary: Report of the Experts summoned by the German Emperor as Arbitrator under Articles 34-42 of the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, preliminary to His Award dated October 12, 1872. Edited with a translation by HUNTER MILLER. (University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, XIII (1), Jan., 1942.) Seattle: The University of Washington. 1942. Pp. viii, 75. (50c.)

The Purchase of Alaska: Contemporary Opinion. By VIRGINIA HANCOCK REID. Long Beach, California: Press-Telegram, Printers. 1939. Pp. xiv, 134. (\$1.00)

IN process of time a considerable body of material relating to American expansion in the Pacific North-west has been published. Both of the items under review, in their respective fields, make a worthwhile addition to the material extant, and together they illustrate, in a sense, the two principal methods by which the territorial boundaries of the United States have been enlarged—by direct purchase and by involved diplomatic negotiation.

Few individuals are as familiar with the general field of American diplomatic history as is Dr. Hunter Miller. His *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States* series affords ample proof of his scholarship. Sponsored by the University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, he has now brought forward an interesting set of documents relating to the Northwest Water Boundary or, as it is more commonly known, the San Juan Island Boundary dispute. This controversy arose out of the vague phraseology of the first article of the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which attempted to define the boundary between British and

American territory west of the Rocky Mountains. When all efforts to settle the respective claims of the governments concerned by direct negotiation had failed recourse was had to arbitration. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, the dispute was submitted to the German Emperor, William I, and his decision, sustaining the case of the American government, was handed down in October, 1872.

The documents now reproduced in the original German with an accompanying English translation, are the reports of the experts summoned by the German Emperor to advise him in the arbitration. Two eminent German jurists, Dr. Ferdinand Grimm and Dr. Levin Goldschmidt, and a celebrated geographer and cartographer, Professor Heinrich Kiepert, were consulted. The report presented by Dr. Grimm, with whom Professor Kiepert was in agreement, sets forward the reasoning which led to the support of the American contention that the Haro Channel fulfilled the intent of the Oregon Treaty. Dr. Goldschmidt, dissenting from this view, contended in his lengthy and well-documented report, that neither claim constituted a favourable interpretation of the Treaty. Arguing in favour of the adoption of the "middle channel" as the boundary, he raised the question whether "every other boundary line than that running through Rosario Strait or that running through Haro Strait was to be excluded" from consideration. His two colleagues were agreed that the terms of reference—"Which of the two claims is most in accordance with the true interpretation of the treaty"—made it inadmissible to propose an alternative boundary.

Dr. Miller has very wisely abstained from any extensive reference to the events leading up to this negotiation, although it is to be hoped that ultimately we may hear more from him on the larger issue. A few minor notes have been added and parenthetical cross-references to the submissions of the British and American governments have been inserted. This is an excellent example of an editorship which allows the documents to speak for themselves.

The acquisition of Alaska was a more spectacular event in American history and has, consequently, received a great variety of treatment. The object of Miss Reid's study, which had its origin in a Master of Arts thesis at Occidental College, is to present the contemporary opinion concerning the purchase. In this attempt the writer has obviously been a willing as well as a diligent worker.

A concise statement of the facts leading up to the purchase is followed by an intensive analysis of the reaction created by Seward's *fait accompli*. A sincere effort is made to present the motives not only of the enthusiastic expansionist Secretary of State, but also of the Cabinet and Senate and, still later, of the House of Representatives, in ratifying the purchase treaty. In addition considerable attention has been given to the attitude of newspapers in all parts of the United States; an analysis which suggests in the sharp swing from astonishment to whole-hearted advocacy an intensive and highly successful Seward-inspired propaganda campaign. Canadian, British, and foreign newspapers have also been included in the survey. Canadian newspapers, for the most part, appear to have chosen to ridicule the purchase, an outspoken exception being the Victoria *British Colonist*. This British Columbia journal, assuming a more realistic view of the consequences implicit in the purchase, took occasion to contrast the American with the British attitude to far-away possessions, to the great disadvantage of the latter. To some the rather amazing statements gleaned from the British press may come as a surprise and it might have been better had the writer taken the pains to set the stage a little more accurately. For the purchase coincides with one of the most virulent out-

breaks of anti-imperialist sentiment in the mother country—a phase which was soon to give way before the imperial dreams of a Disraeli.

Several pertinent documents relative to the purchase and representative editorial comment thereon are contained in the appendices and, in addition, an excellent bibliography has been included. The latter is annotated—at times with rather pungent comments. An index would have increased the usefulness of this study. The book has been privately printed and is altogether pleasing in its format. The ordinary reader will find this book interesting reading and the more serious student of Alaskan history will do well not to overlook it.

WILLARD E. IRELAND

Provincial Archives,
Victoria, B.C.

Queen's University: A Centenary Volume, 1841-1941. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
1941. Pp. xii, 189.

This volume is the official record of the functions connected with the observance in October, 1941, of the centenary of Queen's University, Kingston. Its outstanding feature is the series of addresses delivered on that occasion, first, telling the story of the University and, what is equally interesting, of the intellectual and social changes during the hundred years of its existence. No one was more competent to review this history of Queen's than Dr. W. E. McNeill, its veteran Vice-Principal and Treasurer, and his contribution is an outstanding chapter in the volume. But, as is pointed out in the foreword, it seemed fitting that the central theme of the centenary functions should be "a review of the progress of thought in the humanities, in theology, in the sciences and in medicine during the time in which Queen's University has been playing its part." These several contributions by Sir Robert Falconer on the humanities and social sciences; by Sir Thomas H. Holland on science; by Dr. Henry E. Sergerest on medicine, and by the Rev. Nathaniel Micklem on theology, are of high standard and important historically, in that they suggest backgrounds which have too often been overlooked by those writing Canadian history. Each of these contributions is suggestive and stimulating.

Special mention may be made of the impressive Commemoration Ode written by Dr. George Herbert Clarke, head of the Department of English in Queen's University, which was read on the second day of the celebration. From Principal Wallace one would expect the thoughtful message which he delivered on the subject "Looking Forward in Education," with its emphasis on the necessity for development of character, the maintenance of a sound balance between humanistic learning and professional training, and the restoration of the spiritual to its rightful place in the whole educational process.

The volume, which was issued in a limited edition, is an excellent piece of book-making and contains a number of illustrations of Queen's University buildings.

The University of Western Ontario.

FRED LANDON

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; C.H.R.—*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*; C.J.E.P.S.—*Canadian journal of economics and political science*.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

AMERY, L. S. *The British Commonwealth and the world* (Nineteenth century, CXXXI(no. 782), 165-71). Defends the idea of future development along commonwealth lines, rather than any form of federal union.

COWIE, DONALD. *The Dominions as world powers* (Capital, LIII, Aug. 28, 1941, 312).

FORBES, ROSITA. *Canada: Her contribution to the British Commonwealth and the American continent* (Fortnightly, no. 905 n.s., May, 1942, 344-52). Praises the Canadian war effort and describes the building of the Alaska highway.

GRATTAN, C. H. *Coming—a new British Empire?* (Asia, XL, July, 1940, 343-6).

NEUENDORFF, GWENDOLINE. *Studies in the evolution of Dominion status: The governor-generalship of Canada and the development of Canadian nationalism*. With a foreword by HAROLD J. LASKI. London: George Allan and Unwin [Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons]. 1942. Pp. xii, 379. (\$5.75) See p. 322.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY. *Canada and ourselves* (Atlantic monthly, vol. 169(4), April, 1942, 494-502). The Canadian war effort and Canadian-American relations are set forth for American readers.

FRASER, C. F. *Canada's foreign relations* (Dalhousie review, XXII(1), April, 1942, 48-54). Directs attention to the Department of External Affairs, its work, functions, and undeserved anonymity.

JAFFIN, GEORGE. *New world constitutional harmony: A Pan-Americanian panorama*. New York: Columbia Law Review. 1942. Pp. iv, 53. A comparative legal study, dealing with constitutional guarantees of individual liberties, the first in a series designed to promote the growth of New World understanding. It is reprinted from April, 1942 issue of the *Columbia Law Review*.

MANNING, WILLIAM R. *Diplomatic correspondence of the United States: Canadian relations, 1784-1860*. Vol. II. 1821-1835. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1942. Pp. xxxviii, 1916. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

III. CANADA AND THE WAR

BERRY, J. H. *Wheels for the armed forces* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV(6), June, 1942, 268-79). The story of the contribution of the Canadian automotive industry to the war effort is described by the Director General of the Automotive Production Branch of the Department of Munitions and Supply.

BEAMISH, DELACOUR. *His Majesty's land ship: The tank* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV(6), June, 1942, 280-97). The Director General of the Tank Production Branch of the Department of Munitions and Supply describes Canada's production of tanks.

- BRUNNINGS, E. J. *Anti-Axis ammunition* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(1), July, 1942, 28-39). Describes the tremendous expansion of Canada's ammunition industry.
- Canada. Man power and the plebiscite* (Round table, no. 127, June, 1942, 410-15). Discusses the government's national selective service policy.
- Canada at war* (Maritime art, II(3), Feb.-March, 1942, entire issue). A special issue devoted to Canada at war.
- Canada, Dept. of External Affairs. *Agreement amending and extending the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Agreement of December 17, 1939 relating to training of pilots and aircraft crews in Canada and their subsequent service between the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, dated at Ottawa, June 5, 1942.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 22.
- Canada, Dept. of Munitions and Supply, Economics and Statistics Branch. *Wartime controls in Canada* (third ed.). Ottawa: The Dept. June 15, 1942. Pp. 47 (mimeo.).
- Canada, Dept. of National War Services, Director of Public Information. *Canada at war series*, nos. 14, 15, May, June, 1942. Ottawa: The Director. Pp. 16. Supplements to no. 13.
- Canada, Dominion of. *Report on Canadian expeditionary force to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong by Sir Lyman P. Duff, pursuant to Order in Council, P.C. 1160.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 61.
- Dominion war finance* (Banker, LXI, Jan., 1942, 31-7).
- GORDON, DONALD. *Towards a total war economy* (Labour review, April, 1942, 236-8). An address delivered in Montreal by the Chairman of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.
- How a great air army was built [R.C.A.F.]* (Fortune, XXV(4), April, 1942, 83-7, 140-50). Studies the Canadian development of air training as an example for a similar programme by the United States.
- KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Overseas service in the Canadian army: Amendment of the National Resources Mobilization Act.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 20. A speech delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, June 10, 1942.
- MACDONALD, MALCOLM. *Canada at war* (English-speaking world, XXIV(5), May, 1942, 86-90).
- MCINNIS, EDGAR. *Oxford periodical history of the war.* 10. October to December, 1941. 11. January to March, 1942. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 1-79; 81-164. (25c. each)
- MASSEY, VINCENT. *Canada and the war* (United empire, XXXIII(3), May-June, 1942, 61-4). An address given before the Royal Empire Society on March 10, 1942, by the High Commissioner for Canada in London.
- MOFFAT, J. PIERREPONT. *The meaning of the war to Canada and the United States* (Industrial Canada, XLIII(3), July, 1942, 104). A speech to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association by the Minister of the United States to Canada.
- Montreal Daily Herald, special issue. *The story of French Canada's war effort: Full industrial strength and all economic resources support democracy.* Montreal: The Daily Herald. June 30, 1941. Pp. 62.
- Ottawa Air Training Conference, May, 1942. *Report of the Conference.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 25.

STACEY, C. P. *The Canadians at Spitsbergen* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(2), Aug., 1942, 49-73). An account of the Canadian part in the raid on Spitsbergen, Norway, August 25 to September, 1941, by the official Canadian war historian.

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

DANIEL, HAWTHORNE. *North America: Wheel of the future*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. 300. (\$2.75) The author believes that North America is destined, because of its position and industrial strength, to be the centre of economic and political power during the next phase of the world's history.

ELLIOTT, SOPHY L. *The women pioneers of North America*. Gardenvale, P.Q.: Garden City Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 299. To be reviewed later.

FIELDHOUSE, H. N. *The failure of the historians* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 52-70). Propounds the view that English-speaking historians have failed to make any contribution to the discussion of current international affairs at all commensurate with what might have been expected from them.

HOOKE, HILDA MARY. *One act plays from Canadian history*. Preface by J. F. MACDONALD. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. xiv, 157. (60c.)

Les quarante ans de la Société historique Franco-américaine. Boston, Mass.: The Society. 1940. Pp. 878. (\$5.00 unbound; \$7.00 bound) To be reviewed later.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

JEFFERYS, CHARLES W. *The picture gallery of Canadian history*. Vol. I. *Discovery to 1763*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 268. (\$2.00) See p. 347.

LONGSTAFF, F. V. *Captain George Vancouver, 1792-1942: A study in commemorative place-names* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI(2), April, 1942, 77-94). The work of Vancouver has been commemorated by the giving of his name to an island, a fort, a bay, a river, and many other geographical points.

(3) New France

WEBSTER, J. C. (ed.). *Memorial on behalf of the Sieur de Boishebert, Captain, Chevalier de Saint-Louis, former commandant in Acadia: A statement by M. Clos, Attorney, in defence of M. de Boishebert at his trial in Paris in 1763 for alleged misdemeanors during his military career in Acadia*. Translated by LOUISE MANNY. (Publications of the New Brunswick Museum, Historic Studies no. 3.) Saint John, N.B.: The Museum. 1942. Pp. 42.

(4) British North America before 1867

BEATTIE, R. NORMAN. *The Hudson's Bay Company: Reorganization and Canadian federation* (Manitoba arts review, III(1), spring, 1942, 14-20). Lays emphasis upon the part played by the Grand Trunk interests and Edward Watkin in the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Confederation movement.

COWAN, HELEN I. *Charles Williamson and the southern entrance to the Genesee country* (New York history, XXIII(3), July, 1942, 260-74). Describes Williamson's interests in the development of the land and water route through New York State, Pennsylvania, and Maryland to Chesapeake Bay, around the end of the eighteenth century.

GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. *Zones of international friction: The Great Lakes frontier, Canada, the West Indies, India, 1748-1754*. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. V.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xlviii, 352, lx. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

PECKHAM, HOWARD H. *Fort Miami and the Maumee communication* (Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, XIV(2), April, 1942, 30-41). For nearly two centuries the Maumee River was prized and fought over as a convenient water-route from Lake Erie and the East to the Mississippi and the West and South.

WHITE, M. CATHERINE. *Saleesh House: First trading post among the Flathead* (Pacific Northwest quarterly, XXXIII(3), July, 1942, 215-63). For nearly forty years the fur trade in the Flathead Country, Montana, centred around Saleesh House (built in 1809 by David Thompson of the North West Company) and Flathead Fort, occupied intermittently by the Hudson's Bay Company.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

An American democrat: The recollections of Perry Belmont. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940; ed. 2, 1941. Pp. xvi, 729. (\$2.75) As chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as minister to Spain, as a Democratic opponent of Woodrow Wilson, and a close associate of Henry Cabot Lodge, Perry Belmont had an intimate relation with United States foreign policy for many years. His book contains a few references to Canada dating from 1876 when he accompanied Count Louis de Turenne on a canoe and land trip from Fort Garry to Lake Superior. His account is based mainly on Turenne's published diary. He met, admired and helped Father Lacombe. American treatment of Indians did not measure up to what he found in Canada. Nor was this adventure unattended by hardship or danger.

Little fresh light is thrown by him on the Canadian-American "Fisheries Question" with which, as chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, he was concerned in the middle eighties. But after an address by Goldwin Smith he introduced a resolution into the House calling for freer commerce with the Dominion. And there are other signs that he steadily kept Canadian matters in mind. [LIONEL M. GELBER]

BRADY, A. *Reconstruction in Canada: A note on policies and plans* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 460-8). Outlines the steps taken by the Dominion government to re-establish in civil life those who enter the armed forces of Canada, and to prepare economic and social policies for the post-war period.

BYERS, MRS. A. F. *The late Miss Carrie Derick [1862-1941]* (McGill news, XXIII(4), summer, 1942, 13-14). Pays tribute to the memory of Miss Derick, Emeritus Professor of Botany, the first woman ever appointed to the teaching staff of McGill University.

Canadian Historical Association. *Annual report, 1942*. Edited by R. G. RIDDELL and R. M. SAUNDERS. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. 132. Contains the papers read at the annual meeting held in Toronto on May 25-6, 1942. The papers are listed separately in this bibliography.

Canadian Military Institute. *Selected papers from the transactions of the Institute, 1941-42, together with report for 1941 and list of members*. Toronto: The Military Publishing Company, 19 Melinda Street. 1942. Pp. 93. Contains among other articles one on the Dunkirk engagement, and another on the aerial battle of Britain, by a Flight-Lieutenant in the R.C.A.F.

Civil Service Commission of Canada. *Thirty-third annual report for year 1941*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 51. (10c.)

Confederation. *An assessment* by F. R. SCOTT. *Seventy-five years after* by F. H. UNDERHILL (Canadian forum, XXII(258), July, 1942, 104-8). The nationalization of the constitution, a re-examination of the major premises of Confederation, and a positive programme of nation-wide reconstruction are advocated.

COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *Behind the headlines, 1867* (McGill news, XXIII(4), summer, 1942, 7-8, 50). Argues that economic forces and business calculations engineered Confederation; and presents the view that Macdonald was only a figurehead.

CREIGHTON, D. G. *The course of Canadian democracy* (University of Toronto quarterly, XI(3), April, 1942, 255-68). An analysis of democracy as it has developed in Canada, its principles and its derivations.

— *Economic nationalism and Confederation* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 44-51). Examines the establishment of the protective tariff in the new Dominion as a product of the vast system of related economic-political forces which were continually acting and reacting upon one another in this period.

DUNCAN, LEWIS. *The political basis of municipal democracy* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 427-32). "The significance of municipal institutions in the Canadian polity lies in the fact that they are the choosing and training ground for our political and administrative hierarchy."

GRUBE, G. M. A. *Wanted: A Minister of Labour* (Canadian forum, XXII(258), July, 1942, 110-13). Considerable changes in the ministry of labour, beginning with the minister himself, are needed if a constructive policy is to be instituted.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *The greatest man in Canada* (Fortune, XXV(6), June, 1942, 106-11, 114, 116, 119-20). An appreciation of John Wesley Dafoe, editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, by one of his former newspapermen.

— *Look, this is us* (Maclean's magazine, LV(8), April 15, 1942, 5-6, 43). The author's analysis of what is wrong with Canada.

— *Milestone* (Maclean's magazine, LV(13), July 1, 1942, 5-7, 36-7). A survey of Canada's development, on Confederation's seventy-fifth anniversary.

LANDON, FRED. *The Canadian scene, 1880-1890* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 5-18). The presidential address, delivered at the annual meeting of the Association, May 25-6, 1942, in Toronto.

LOGAN, J. W. *Charles Macdonald, M.A.: For memory* (Dalhousie review, XXII(1), April, 1942, 55-7). Some reminiscences of the man who held the Chair of Mathematics at Dalhousie University, 1863-1901.

LONGLEY, R. S. *Historical records in war and peace* (Ontario library review, XXVI(1), Feb., 1942, 39-42). "A wise nation preserves its records, but it does not stop there. It instructs its youth in the proper kind of patriotism and citizenship by the judicious use of these records."

MACDONNELL, J. M. I. *Can we return to freedom? 2. A Conservative party is essential in Canada. 3. The Conservatives and a new national policy* (Saturday night, LVII(44-6), July 11, 18, 25, 1942). Three articles on the place of the Conservative party in Canada.

MAHEUX, L'ABBÉ ARTHUR. *What French Canadians want: Survival, not domination* (Food for thought, II(10), June, 1942, 7-10). An outstanding French-Canadian thinker urges that certain prejudiced views about the aims of French Canadians be discarded.

MARTIN, DAVID. *Plebiscite in Canada* (New statesman and nation, May 9, 1942).

MASTERS, D. C. *Canadian bankers of the last century. I. William McMaster* (Canadian banker, XLIX(4), July, 1942, 389-96). McMaster was the principal founder of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and its first president; he was in many ways typical of the Toronto business world of his day, 1833-87.

Royal Society of Canada. *Proceedings, 1942*. Ottawa: The Society. 1942. Pp. 167. The proceedings of the annual meeting held in Toronto on May 28-30, 1942. Contains the presidential address, "International Aspects of the Maritime Fur-Trade" by JUDGE F. W. HOWAY, and the biographical sketches of deceased members: "L'Abbé Ivanhoe Caron" by L'ABBÉ ARTHUR MAHEUX; "James Henry Coyne" by FRED LANDON; "John Davidson Galloway" by C. E. CAIRNES; "William

Francis Ganong" by J. C. WEBSTER; "Monseigneur Amédée Gosselin" by L'ABBÉ ARTHUR MAHEUX; "Charles-Joseph Magnan" by PIERRE DAVIAULT; "Richard George McConnell" by GEORGE HANSON; "Henry Allen McTaggart" by J. K. ROBERTSON; "Monseigneur Louis-Adolphe Paquet" by GEORGES SIMARD; "John Stanley Plaskett" by C. S. BEALS; "Newton Wesley Rowell" by H. J. CODY and W. P. M. KENNEDY.

SANDWELL, B. K. *The future of Confederation* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX(2), summer, 1942, 166-70). "The force which has kept Canada in existence for seventy-five years, and the force which will continue to keep Canada in existence to complete her century and many other centuries, is the mutual respect of her two great races for one another."

SCOTT, F. R. *Political nationalism and Confederation* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 386-415). The political nationalism in Canada at the time of Confederation was a vigorous and creative movement, but the problem of the new relationship between itself and the older nationalism of the British Empire was delayed and turned from the path which the Fathers of Confederation set for it, only to come close to a solution in recent years.

— *Section 94 of the British North America Act* (Canadian bar review, XX(6), June, July, 1942, 525-44). Examines section 94 dealing with the laws regarding property and civil rights in the common-law provinces, with a view to proving that the Dominion possesses a greater extent of jurisdiction than it now imagines it holds.

SILCOX, C. E. *Confederation, Quebec, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the future* (Food for thought, II(10), June, 1942, 3-6). An editorial pointing out that equality of responsibilities must go hand in hand with equality of privileges.

— *We must have faith in French Canada* (Saturday night, LVII(28), March 21, 1942, 14-15). Considers the meaning of the plebiscite for French Canada and urges English-speaking Canadians to withhold judgment until French Canada has given its verdict.

SISSEY, C. B. *Canadian political ideas in the sixties and seventies: Egerton Ryerson* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 94-103). Portrays Ryerson's endeavours to build a system of universal education, his part in the long-standing University dispute, and in the Separate Schools question.

Survey of Canadian legislation. Dominion of Canada by DANA PORTER. *Maritime Provinces* by G. F. CURTIS. *Ontario* by J. J. ROBINETTE. *Quebec* by BROOKE CLAXTON. *Western Provinces* by F. C. CRONKITE (University of Toronto law journal, IV(2), lent, 1942, 406-17).

TANSILL, CHARLES C. *The fur-seal fisheries and the doctrine of the freedom of the seas* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 71-81). Points out the irony that in this dispute the United States abandoned its historic stand for the freedom of the seas, and Great Britain defended a doctrine that she had at times openly flouted.

THOMAS, J. K. *Old guard defeat in Canada* (Common sense, XI(4), April, 1942, 113-14). A comment on the bye-election in South York on February 9, 1942, in which the C.C.F. candidate Mr. Noseworthy defeated ex-Senator Meighen, the leader-elect of the Conservative party.

UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Political ideas of the Upper Canada Reformers, 1867-78* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 104-15). Discusses their attitudes on political and constitutional issues, and their conception of Canadian nationalism in its various aspects.

WILLIAMSON, O. T. G. *Our need is a "Canadians for Canada" party* (Saturday night, LVII(47), Aug. 1, 1942, 6). Advocates a party of the centre.

WILLIS, JOHN. *Uniformity of legislation in Canada* (Public affairs, V(4), summer, 1942, 169-73). "In 1942 a diversity of laws that was once one of the main recommendations of a federal system has become just another of those inherent defects of our federalism that we try to mitigate as best we may."

(6) The Great War

GRAVES, SANDHAM. *The lost diary*. Victoria : King's Printer [author, c/o *The Daily Colonist*]. 1941. Pp. 131. The author served throughout the last war from 1914 to 1918 with the Canadian army and with the Royal Flying Corps. This informal diary of his experiences in Canada, England, France, and the Near East, is well written and filled with interesting anecdote. Many accounts of actual combat are included and the author succeeds also in conveying some idea of the state of mind which accompanied his adventures and achievements. [R. G. RIDDELL]

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

BLAIR, EDITH. *Family budgets of wage earners in the Maritimes* (Public affairs, V(4), summer, 1942, 195-9). A brief summary of a comprehensive report recently issued by the Institute of Public Affairs on this important topic.

PORTER, H. WYMAN. *The apple industry of the Annapolis Valley* (Canadian banker, XLIX(4), July, 1942, 429-37). The industry has shown a steady expansion since 1606, when seedlings brought to Nova Scotia from Normandy were planted by members of the DeMonts, Poutrincourt-Champlain expedition at Port Royal.

(2) The Province of Quebec

ADAIR, E. R. *The evolution of Montreal under the French régime* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 20-41). Montreal was founded as a village devoted first to missionary and then for fur-trading enterprise; by the end of the French régime the missionary enterprise had nearly vanished, but the fur-trading had grown to a vast, organized, continental business.

BRUCHESI, JEAN. *M. de la Dauversière: L'homme que fonda Montréal* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 19). The résumé of an address given before the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, May 25-6, 1942, in Toronto.

COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *Montreal: The story of three hundred years*. Montreal : L'Imprimerie de Lamirande. 1942. Pp. 133. To be reviewed later.

COVERDALE, WILLIAM HUGH. *Tadoussac: Then and now: A history and narrative of the Kingdom of the Saguenay*. [Montreal : Canada Steamship Lines.] 1942. Pp. 24. (not for sale)

LANCLOT, GUSTAVE. *L'atterrissement de Jacques Cartier dans l'île de Montréal* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 42-3). A résumé of an article read before the Canadian Historical Association, May 25-6, 1942, in Toronto.

MORIN, VICTOR. *Le vieux Montréal: Fondation, développement, visite*. Montréal : Les Editions des Dix. 1942. Pp. 43. Published in honour of the three hundredth year since the founding of Montreal. First published in *Les Editions des Dix*, no. 6.

MURRAY, G. and DELORME, G. *La région du nord de Montréal* (La forêt, IV(3, 4), mars, avril, 1942, 137-47, 182-96). A survey of agriculture, population, soil, climate, colonization etc. in Quebec north of Montreal.

O'NEILL, GEORGE. *The fascinating Charlevoix country* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(1), July, 1942, 40-7).

The problem of Quebec (Dalhousie review, XXII(2), July, 1942, 221-4). "The problem of Quebec has assumed a new gravity with the results of the national plebiscite."

(3) The Province of Ontario

CURTIS, C. A. *Municipal government in Ontario* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 416-26).

JOLLIFFE, E. B. *Democracy in cold storage* (Canadian forum, XXII(259), Aug., 1942, 136-8). Declares that in Ontario provincial leaders have contrived to freeze out debate on political and social questions, on the ground that war emergencies necessitate abeyance of such debate.

REID, JOHN. *G. B. Jolliffe has a record* (Saturday night, LVII(45), July 18, 1942, 19). Sketches the background of the new Ontario C.C.F. leader.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

FORSEY, HARRIET ROBERTS. *Distribution of income in the Prairie Provinces* (Canadian forum, XXII(256), May, 1942, 56-7).

PRITCHARD, JOHN. *Lost on the prairies* (Beaver, outfit 273, June, 1942, 36-9). A letter of 1805 by a young man of the X. Y. Company, describing a harrowing adventure.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BYRD, CECIL K. *The Northwest Indians and the British preceding the War of 1812* (Indiana magazine of history, XXXVIII(1), March, 1942, 31-50). An examination of the American belief that the British instigated the Indians' revolt and attacks upon American settlers.

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Distribution of income in British Columbia* (Canadian forum, XXII(259), Aug., 1942, 148-9). "Except in 1931 and 1940, British Columbia has had the largest per capita income of any province in Canada, and has always been well above the dominion average."

HOWAY, F. W. *International aspects of the maritime fur-trade* (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1942, Toronto, 1942, 57-78). The presidential address, read at the annual meeting of the Royal Society, held in Toronto, May 28-30, 1942. (ed.) *Four letters from Richard Cadman Etches to Sir Joseph Banks, 1788-92* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI(2), April, 1942, 125-39). The plan that Etches develops in these letters is the formation of a convict settlement, somewhat on the model of that at Botany Bay, which would be a centre of trade and discovery on the North-west Coast.

LONGSTAFF, F. V. *Esquimalt Naval base: A history of its work and its defences*. Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Book and Stationery Co. Ltd., 1002 Government Street. 1941. Pp. 190. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.

MORRIS, WILFRED H. *Captain William Oliver: A fisher of men*. Trujillo, Peru: Casa Evangelica de Publicaciones. 1941. Pp. 117. (35c.) Biographical sketch of a West Coast missionary.

OGDEN, ADELE. *The California sea otter trade, 1789-1848*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 251. (Cloth \$2.50; paper \$2.00)

THIS study, by one long conversant with the subject, will be of great interest to students of the maritime fur trade of the North Pacific area. In a most comprehensive manner, based upon painstaking research, the author has presented a great mass of information concerning the first and most profitable enterprise to attract American merchants to the Pacific Coast. In so far as Russian and American traders were concerned this was an illicit trade, and their ingenuity

in smuggling operations in the face of Spanish opposition, weak-willed though it often was, is recounted in a readable manner. A comprehensive list of ships engaged in the sea otter trade of California—complete with names of their masters and owners, types of boats, and sailing schedules—and an excellent bibliography further enhance the value of this publication. [WILLARD E. IRELAND]

PEARCE, J. A. *The victory "V" and the colonial stamps of 1865-71* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI(2), April, 1942, 95-6). Points out that the threepenny stamp issued by the old Crown Colony of British Columbia in 1865 had the modern "V for Victory" sign upon it, complete with the dots and dashes.

SAVAGE, ROSEMARY LORNA. *American concern over Canadian railway competition in the North-west, 1885-1890* (Canadian Historical Association annual report, 1942, 82-93). A study of the influences lying behind the American senatorial investigation of 1889 on the subject of Canadian railroads operating in the United States.

SNYDER, JAMES WILBERT. *Spices, silks and teas—cargoes of the old China trade* (Americana, XXXVI(1), Jan., 1942, 7-26). The barter for furs on the North-west Coast and the hunting of sea-otter skins formed one point of the triangular trade carried on in the Pacific, in the years roughly from 1788 to 1812.

WAITES, K. A. *Responsible government and Confederation: The popular movement for popular government* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI(2), April, 1942, 95-123). In the years 1870-2 in the colony of British Columbia the two issues of the winning of responsible government and entrance into Confederation went hand in hand.

YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHM. *Studies in Russian Americana: V* (New York Public Library bulletin, XLVI(4, 5), April, May, 1942, 374-8, 451-7). A survey of references to America in Russian literature in the eighteenth century.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

ELLS, S. C. *Research touches the north* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV(6), June, 1942, 257-67). Commercial potentialities of Alberta's bituminous sands.

PERKINS, HELEN. *Law practise in the Territories* (Alberta law quarterly, IV(7), March, 1942, 201-13). Believes a simpler, more democratic, form of government could be found.

PONCINS, GONTRAN DE. *Arctic Christmas*. Translation by LEWIS GALANTIÈRE. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1941. Pp. 23. To be reviewed later.

WASHBURN, HELUIZ CHANDLER and ANAUTA. *Land of the good shadows: The life story of Anauta, an Eskimo woman*. New York: The John Day Company. 1940. Pp. xx, 329. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

(7) Newfoundland

COHEN, MAXWELL. *Newfoundland in transition* (Saturday night, LVII(47), Aug. 1, 1942, 14). The war may bring about new and basic realignments in Newfoundland's political relationships.

LOWER, A. R. M. *Newfoundland in North Atlantic strategy* (Foreign affairs, XX(4), July, 1942, 767-70). Newfoundland is a secure advance base, which must be held at all costs, lest it prove of even greater strategic significance to the enemy.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eighth decennial census of Canada, 1941. Housing census of Canada, 1941*. 1. Regina, Sask., Dec. 8, 1941. 2. Ottawa, Ont., Dec. 20. 3. Victoria, B.C., Dec. 27. 4. Halifax, N.S., Jan. 28, 1942. Ottawa: The

Bureau. 1941-2. This series of releases summarizes preliminary data on housing for Canadian cities of 30,000 population and over.

CURTIS, C. A. *Housing in Canada* (Canadian banker, XLIX(4), July, 1942, 373-88). A discussion of housing in the war economy, with some consideration of housing after the war.

FALUDI, E. G. *Housing will make a great post-war industry* (Saturday night, LVII(45), July 18, 1942, 12). In the reconstruction period housing is capable of creating a new industry as a channel for investment and employment.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Canada under the lid* (Fortune, XXVI(1), July, 1942, 62-3, 136, 138, 141-2, 144). Reports the successful working to date of the price ceiling.

International Labour Office. *Labour supply and national defence*. (Studies and reports, Series C, Employment and Unemployment, no. 23.) Montreal: The I.L.O. 1941. Pp. 245.

JAMES, F. CYRIL. *Control of prices and wages—a Canadian experiment* (N.I.C.B. economic record, Dec. 24, 1941).

LITTLE, ELLIOTT M. *Commonsense in labour relations* (Industrial Canada, XLIII(3), July, 1942, 106-9). A speech given at the annual general meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association on June 8, 1942.

MACINNIS, ANGUS. *Collective bargaining* (Quarterly review of commerce, IX(2), 1942, 101-11). Emphasizes that labour-industrial relations must be based on collective bargaining if they are to be harmonious, and criticizes the government for its opposition to it.

MOFFAT, HARRY S. *Canada pioneers in price control* (Barron's, Jan. 12, 1942).

PLUMPTRE, B. A. and A. F. W. *Canada* (London and Cambridge economic service bulletin, XX, Jan., 1942, 19-23).

Price and wage control in Canada (Academy of Political Science proceedings, XX(1), May, 1942, 23-34). A paper read at the annual meeting of the Association, April, 1942, by the Financial Attaché, Canadian Legation, Washington.

Practical problems of the retail price ceiling. I. Problems of the administrator by J. T. E. AIKENHEAD. *II. Problems of the retailer* by P. K. HEYWOOD (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 433-45).

RITCHIE, RONALD S. *Price control in Canada and the United States* (Quarterly review of commerce, IX(3), 1942, 219-31). "What has been a study in contrast since December 1, 1941, is more likely in future to be a unified attack on the problems of war inflation."

THOMSON, M. R. *The ABC of foreign exchange control* (Canadian banker, XLIX(4), July, 1942, 423-7).

(2) Agriculture

BOOTH, J. F. *The economic problems of Canadian agriculture in the war and post-war period* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 446-59). The most important problems in the post-war period will probably be markets; but adjustments in production, the problem of control measures at present in force, will all have to be dealt with.

FRY, H. S. *Community pastures* (Country guide, April, 1942, 9, 34). The reshaping of prairie agriculture under the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act is going on partly by taking large areas of poor land out of cultivation and putting effort into efficiently operated pastures.

GRAY, E. L. *Prairie farm assistance* (Country guide, April, 1942, 7, 57). What federal farm policies, under the Prairie Farm Assistance Act, the Prairie Farm Income Act, and the Wheat Reduction Programme have meant in dollars and cents.

JONES, ROBERT LESLIE. *French-Canadian agriculture in the St. Lawrence valley, 1815-50* (Agricultural history, XVI(3), July, 1942, 137-48). In this period, for various reasons which the author propounds, the French Canadians of the seigneuries were undergoing an adjustment in their agricultural economy which was exceedingly painful.

LAMBERT, N. P. *What is being done?* (Country guide, April, 1942, 8, 39-40). A consideration of various steps which indicate a trend toward a planned agricultural economy in Canada.

SKELTON, D. A. *Canada-United States trade relationships* (Journal of farm economics, XXIV(1), Feb., 1942, 35-41). Discusses the prospects for Canadian agriculture and its relations to the agricultural industry of the United States in the post-war world.

U.S. Dept. of State, Bulletin. *Joint agricultural arrangements with Canada*. Washington: The Dept. April 11, 1942.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

PELZER, KARL J. *Population and land utilization: An economic survey of the Pacific area*. Part I. New York: International secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1941. Pp. 215. (\$2.00) Contains material on Canada.

ROME, DAVID. *The first two years*. Montreal: H. M. Caiserman. 1942. Pp. 120. (\$1.25) Describes, from contemporary sources, the leaders and activities of the Jewish community in British Columbia in 1858-60. [W. KAYE LAMB]

TURCOTTE, E. *Reflexions sur l'avenir des Canadiens français*. Montreal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. Pp. 165.

WRIGHT, J. F. C. *Ukrainian-Canadians* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(2), Aug., 1942, 74-87). The author states that the large majority of Ukrainian-Canadians are Canadian-born, with their primary interest being in Canada, and that he sees no "Ukrainian problem" separate and apart from a "French problem" or an "English problem."

(4) Geography

CAMSELL, CHARLES. *Natural resources and their conservation* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV(1), July, 1942, 2-11).

CHAPMAN, L. J. and PUTNAM, D. F. *The soils of Eastern Ontario* (Scientific agriculture, XXII(10), June, 1942, 608-36). Presents a general description of the soils in the territory east of Kingston and the Ottawa Valley as far north as Petawawa.

COLLARD, EDGAR ANDREW. *Lyell and Dawson: A centenary* (Dalhousie review XXII(2), July, 1942, 133-44). Exactly one hundred years ago, in the summer of 1842, Sir Charles Lyell began the work for which he later became famous, the study of the geology of Nova Scotia, and with him was the man who was to be his lifelong collaborator, William Dawson.

TAYLOR, G. *Geography in Canadian schools* (School, secondary edition, April, 1942, 716-21). Discusses the position of school geography in Canada and other countries, and shows how Canadians can profit by giving modern geography a place of importance in the curriculum.

(5) **Transportation and Communication**

Canada, British Columbia-Yukon-Alaska Highway Commission. *Report on proposed highway through British Columbia and the Yukon Territory to Alaska, August, 1941.* [Ottawa: King's Printer, 1942.] Pp. 46.

COLLINS, F. W. *Railway progress* (Agricultural and industrial progress in Canada, XXIV(5), May, 1942, 69-72). Outlines the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

HAIGHURST, WALTER. *The long ships passing: The story of the Great Lakes.* New York [Toronto]: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. viii, 291. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *Night-and-day school* (Maclean's magazine, LV(9), May 1, 1942, 16-17, 22-4). The Central Technical School in Toronto operates twenty-four hours a day, turning out skilled workers for the factories and fighting forces.

FALCONER, SIR ROBERT. *Glimpses of the University at work from 1907 until the First World War* (I, II) (University of Toronto quarterly, XI(2, 4), Jan., July, 1942, 127-39, 389-402). Presents aspects in the development of the University of Toronto during his Presidency.

FEELEY, SADIE A. *Canadian universities and colleges in the second World War* (Public affairs, V(4), summer, 1942, 179-82).

HERBERT, C. H., *Popular economic education* (Canadian banker, XLIX(4), July, 1942, 446-53). Points out the need for a campaign for popular economic education, to inform the electorate of the whys and wherefores of government economic policy.

JAMES, F. CYRIL. "What shall it profit a man?" (McGill news, XXIII(4), summer, 1942, 25-6, 61-2). A discussion of the contribution of a university in war-time, with a comparative examination of conditions in the United States, and Great Britain.

MAGNAN, C.-J. *Educateurs d'autrefois: anciens professeurs de l'Ecole normale Laval, M. Ernest Gagnon, 1834-1915* (B. R. H., XLVIII(3), mars, 1942, 86-90).
 ————— *Educateurs d'autrefois: anciens professeurs de l'Ecole normale Laval, M. J.-B. Cloutier, 1831-1920* (B. R. H., XLVIII(5), mai, 1942, 139-45).

MOORE, ANDREW. *Nonservice education for the Canadian armed forces* (American Academy of Political and Social Science annals, vol. 220, March, 1942, 67-80). Modern war demands for a high standard of education in all ranks, non-military in character though essential to military training, have been met in Canada by the excellent services provided by Canadian Legion Educational Services.

O'CONNOR, J. *Nova Scotia experiments in rural education* (Family herald and weekly star, Jan. 28, 1942, 35).

Ontario, Province of. *Report of the Minister of Education for year 1940.* Toronto: King's Printer, 1942. Pp. vi, 254.

Queen's University: A centenary volume, 1841-1941. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1941. Pp. xii, 189. See p. 332.

ROSS, AILEEN. *A pattern for adult education* (Canadian forum, XXII(256), May, 1942, 50-3). Describes the development and purposes of the community schools, as part of the programme of the Rural Adult Education service.

WOODSWORTH, J. S. *Wanted: Education for living* (Canadian forum, XXII(255), April, 1942, 18-19). Expresses scepticism that young people are being better trained to meet life today, in a society that has been revolutionized in the last fifty years.

VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

CODY, H. J. *The heritage and ideals of a great parish* (Canadian churchman, LXIX(15), April 9, 1942, 28-9). An address given by Canon H. J. Cody, former rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Toronto, 1899-1932, at the centenary dinner of St. Paul's Parish in Toronto.

DOYLE, SISTER ST. IGNATIUS. *Marguerite Bourgeoys and her congregation*. Garden-city, P.Q.: Garden City Press, 1940. Pp. xx, 318. A pious study in semi-fictional form of the life of the foundress of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame intended, it would seem, for school use first of all. The latter part of the book, devoted to the history of the Congregation after the death of Marguerite Bourgeoys, is brief, more statistical, and less readable. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

McDOWELL, F. E. D. *Walls against the wilderness* (Canadian national magazine, XXVIII(7), July, 1942, 10-11, 18-19). A study of the Jesuit mission at Fort Ste. Marie and its reconstruction, as it was outlined by Dr. K. E. Kidd in the *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1942.

MCLENNAN, C. PRESCOTT. *Church memories of Halifax* (Dalhousie review, XXII(2), July, 1942, 170-84). Memories of eminent churchmen in Halifax in the last decades of the nineteenth century, among them Archbishop O'Brien and the Rev. George M. Grant.

ROWLEY, OWSLEY ROBERT. *Pillars of the [Anglican] Church*. XXIV. *The Bishop of Niagara* (Canadian churchman, LXIX(27), July 9, 1942, 421). An outline of the life and career to date of the Right Reverend Lewis Wilmot Bovell Broughall, Bishop of Niagara.

St. George's [Anglican] Church, Montreal (Montreal churchman, XXX(7), July, 1942, 10-12). The one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the Foundation Stone was celebrated in May, 1942.

SMITH, F. D. L. *The great church of Saint Paul's* [St. Paul's Anglican Church, Toronto] (Canadian churchman, LXIX(15), April 9, 1942, 230-1). A history of its past, a survey of its present, and an estimation of its future mission.

TURNER, W. N. *St. Stephen's Church* [Anglican], South Saanich (Canadian churchman, LXIX(26), June 25, 1942, 406). A history of the oldest church in the diocese of British Columbia.

Wesley United Church, Amherstburg, Ontario, a historical sketch. Amherstburg, 1942. Pp. 40 (illustrated). Methodism was first established in Amherstburg in 1803 when Nathan Bangs visited the place. [FRED LANDON]

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics (C.J.E.P.S., VIII(3), Aug., 1942, 474-90). The August, 1942 issue of this quarterly bibliography gives the current material in the sections on Labour, Trade and Commerce, Money and Banking, Public Finance, Economic Geography, Social Conditions, Government and Politics, International Relations, General Works.

LORTIE, LUCIEN. *Biographie analytique de l'œuvre de l'abbé Arthur Maheux, Précedée d'une biographie*. Québec: N.p. [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1942. Pp. 159. A competent bibliographical study by a student of the Library School of the Université de Montréal. A convenient calendar of the writings of one of the ablest progressives in French Canada. Contains a short biography of the Abbé Maheux. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

X. ART AND LITERATURE

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Henri Julien*. (Canadian Art series). Toronto: Ryerson Press. Nov., 1941. Pp. 44. (60c. paper; \$1.00 cloth)
Maitres artisans de chez nous. (Collection du Zodiaque Deuxième). Montréal: Les Editions du Zodiaque. 1942. Pp. 222. (\$1.00)

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Notre géographie en peinture* (Bulletin des Sociétés de Géographie de Québec et de Montréal, I(5), mai, 1942, 33-44). Brief notes on a number of artists from Cockburn to A. Y. Jackson who depicted scenes in the Province of Quebec. Includes ten plates.

_____. *Voyageur songs* (Beaver, outfit 273, June, 1942, 15-19). The folk-songs of the voyageurs were not all work or paddling songs; many were purely lyrical and reminiscent, love songs, drinking songs, parting songs.

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Bringing art to everyone: What the National Gallery is doing* (Food for thought, II(10), June, 1942, 11-16). An outline of the contribution the Gallery is making to the national life, by means of encouragement of local talent and interest in art, travelling art exhibitions, loans of collections etc.

CARROLL, CAMPBELL. *Canadiana: Tadoussac's unique collection* (Canadian homes and gardens, XIX(5), May, 1942, 22-3, 49). In the new Hotel Tadoussac on the lower St. Lawrence there will be a unique collection of antique furniture, reflecting the home life of the early settlers of French Canada.

FRYE, HELEN. *Manhandling the arts*. (Canadian forum, XXII(257), June, 1942, 82-5). "A new relationship is needed for artists, a collection of groups related in a social pattern."

_____. *Portrait of the artist in a young magazine* (Canadian forum, XXII(256), May, 1942, 53-5). Believes that Canadian art has made great progress in the last twenty years, as indicated by a reading of the *Canadian Forum* during this period.

GUSTAFSON, RALPH (comp.). *Anthology of Canadian poetry* (English). Penguin Books. 1942. Pp. 123. (25c) An anthology compiled by one of Canada's younger poets, which has received very favourable reviews.

LYMAN, JOHN. *Painting in Quebec* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVIII(4), April, 1941, 69). A discussion of whether there is such a thing as regionalism expressed in Quebec painting.

PHILLIPS, W. J. *Artists of Western Canada* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVIII(8), August, 1941, 143).

PIERCE, LORNE. *Thoreau MacDonald*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. ii, 10. A talk on the Canadian artist given in Hart House, University of Toronto, upon the occasion of the Warden's exhibition of drawings for "Maria Chapdelaine," February 9, 1942.

RASMUSSEN, LOUISE. *Artists of the explorations overland, 1840-1860* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIII(1), March, 1942, 56-62). A list of those who have left us sketches, maps, and drawings of their journeys to the West Coast, among whom was the Canadian artist, Paul Kane.

SMITH, A. J. M. *Canadian anthologies, new and old* (University of Toronto quarterly, XI(4), July, 1942, 389-402). "It is the purpose of this article to examine the new anthology [Anthology of Canadian Poetry (English) compiled by Ralph Gustafson] in the list of some of the more important anthologies which, from 1864 to the present, have given us a series of views of Canadian poetry at various stages of its development."

VENNE, EMILE. *Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal* (Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Journal, XVIII(2), Feb., 1941, 17-19). Architectural education given in this university school of architecture.

WOODHOUSE, A. S. P. (ed.). *Letters in Canada, 1941*. Part I. English-Canadian letters. Part II. French-Canadian letters and New-Canadian letters (University of Toronto quarterly, XI(3, 4), April, 1942, 287-388; July, 1942, 475-518). For the seventh year the Quarterly publishes its critical survey of current Canadian poetry (reviewed by E. K. BROWN), fiction (by J. R. MACGILLIVRAY), drama by W. S. MILNE), French-Canadian letters (by W. E. COLLIN), New-Canadian letters (by WATSON KIRKCONNELL), and remaining material (by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE).

NOTES AND COMMENTS

LOCAL HISTORY AND THE WAR

That the commendable zeal for collecting salvage may result in the destruction of old letters, diaries, and other valuable historical materials was pointed out at the recent meeting of the Ontario Historical Society. The secretary of the Society has sent a letter to a large number of local newspapers requesting them to make an appeal that owners of such materials should not destroy them before getting in touch with an historical society, a provincial archives, or a competent librarian. Associated with this question is the problem of collecting materials of local interest pertaining to the present war. Very few local communities unfortunately are giving attention to this matter although much might be done even with a little effort. An interest in these questions is also being shown in the United States, and information is being made available as to the best lines of procedure to follow. The American Association for State and Local History has prepared practical suggestions. A number of states have also taken steps to deal with the matter. In Ohio a War History Commission has been established with headquarters at the Ohio State Museum in Columbus. Dr. William D. Overman of the Museum, who is also secretary of the Commission, has sent us information with regard to the work which the Commission has begun, enclosing a copy of the first of a series of bulletins which is being sent out to local committees for their encouragement and instruction. The *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* will be pleased to answer enquiries with regard to these matters.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. Vol. I: Discovery to 1765, by Charles W. Jefferys (Toronto, Ryerson, 1942, \$2.00). This first volume of Dr. Jefferys's crowning work, which will be reviewed at length in a later issue, will be examined with the greatest pleasure and profit by readers of all ages, but its most enduring value will be in the schools. The book is a unique reference work of drawings, plans and maps with brief and informative explanations. Some of the pictures are the imaginative reconstructions of scenes in Canadian history which have become so well known through many years of Dr. Jefferys's work, and among these some old friends will be recognized, but the bulk of the volume has been specially drawn so as to illustrate accurately all possible phases of the life of the people since the beginnings of Canadian history. Dr. Jefferys is a great scholar as well as an artist and Canada owes him a debt which cannot be measured in any tangible terms. Every school library should have this book in sufficient numbers to put a copy into the hands of every pupil in a class so that it may be used effectively for teaching purposes. By publishing the book at so reasonable a price the Ryerson Press has made a real contribution to the teaching of Canadian history.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Ontario Historical Society held one of its most successful meetings at Simcoe, Ont., on June 16 and 17. It was the 44th annual meeting of the Society. Papers were presented by Dr. J. J. Talman on "An early historical society"; Mr. Geo. Laidler on "The Nottawasaga Portage"; Miss Jean Waldie on "Pioneer Days in Brant"; Professor J. A. Gunton on "Early Chemical Industry in Norfolk"; Rev. M. A. Garland on "St. Thomas to Simcoe in the 1830's"; and Miss E. W. Looseley on "Canadian costumes of the past." The sessions were held in the home

bequeathed by the late Mrs. Eva Booth Donly to the town for use as a museum of history and art. In this building are stored a large assortment of Indian artifacts, specimens of the output of the early Normandale iron works, and a unique group of pictures by a local artist, Mr. W. E. Cantelon, illustrating the history of Norfolk County. For the second afternoon the Norfolk Historical Society had generously arranged a motor tour. A folder had been prepared detailing the points to be visited with notes indicating their historical importance. The meeting was closed the same evening with a dinner, presided over by Mr. D. T. McCall, president of the local society. The main after-dinner speakers were Professor Fred Landon of London, and Mr. Louis Blake Duff of Welland. Each referred to 1942 as an anniversary,—the 75th of Confederation and the 125th of the Rush-Bagot agreement. Professor Landon based his remarks on the first; Mr. Duff on the second. Both addresses were of a high order.

The officers of the Society for the ensuing year are: *President*, Dr. C. W. Jefferys; *1st Vice President*, Dr. J. J. Talman; *2nd Vice President*, Mr. James C. Morden; *other members of the Executive Committee*, Professor R. G. Trotter, Miss H. A. McClung, Miss Elsie Murray, Mr. L. B. Duff, and the Rev. Percival Mayes; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Mr. J. McE. Murray. (J. McE. M.).

The Thunder Bay Historical Society was host at Fort William on August 1 to the historical societies of St. Louis, Lake and Cook Counties, Minnesota, at the 14th annual meeting of the North Shore Historical Assembly. The following papers were presented: "Catholic missionary work in Cook County," by the Rev. Oswald Johannes; "A brief history of the Lake Superior iron ore industry," by R. Bruce Elliott; "Ontario and Minnesota," by Otto E. Wieland; "Oliver Daunois, the Silver King of the eighties," by Keith Denis. Among the speakers at the dinner were Miss Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, who described the work and influence of the *voyageurs*, and Dr. L. J. Burpee, of the International Joint Commission, whose address on Canadian-American relations commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. On Monday the delegates followed the old moccasin trail of the Kakabeka portage route. Addresses were given at another session by Julian G. Cross on the "Geological History of the Lake Superior Basin," and by Dr. Herman Bryan on "Ojibway legends." A complete account of the meeting including other interesting features is given in the *Fort William Daily Times-Journal* of August 4 last.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

The New Brunswick Museum has issued the following brochure, edited by Dr. J. C. Webster, as number 3 of its Historic Studies: *Memorial on behalf of the Sieur de Boishebert, Captain, Chevalier de Saint-Louis, former commandant in Acadia: A statement by M. Clos, Attorney, in defence of M. de Boishebert at his trial in Paris in 1763 for alleged misdemeanors during his military career in Acadia*, translated by Louise Manny (1942, 42pp.). The small volume has been very attractively printed, and like all of Dr. Webster's writings has been produced with imagination and every evidence of care and accuracy.

ERRATUM

The name M. E.-Z. Massicotte should be substituted for that of M. E.-Z. Malchelosse on page 200, line 27 in the June, 1942 issue of the REVIEW.

